Koshur

An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri

Compiled by:

Sunil Fotedar

For

KASHMIR NEWS NETWORK (KNN)
(http://iKashmir.org)

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The Kashmir Series

Koshur: An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri

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Foreword

In order to counter the disinformation campaign launched against the minuscule Kashmiri Pandit (KP) community by Muslims, a team of dedicated KP individuals in the USA, along with other Indian Americans, has formed the Kashmir News Network (KNN). KNN acts as a central repository and dissemination outlet for information on Kashmir. A major activity of KNN is the hosting of a number of related web sites.

The KNN websites carry information about the on-going struggle of the Kashmiri Pandits, as refugees in their own country, the conditions that prevailed in the valley before their exodus, their history of survival through centuries of persecution at the hands of cruel Muslim rulers in the valley, detailed case analyses of various Kashmiri Pandit individuals killed by the Pakistan-sponsored militants, and several massacres of the Kashmiri Pandits that have taken place after their exodus. It is a repository describing the ethnic cleansing of the Kashmiri Pandits from the valley of Kashmir. The web sites serve as an authoritative source for historical documents, books, and strategic analyses on Kashmir and related issues.

In addition to the political literature, it is a repository of information on the Kashmiri Pandits detailing their culture, history and religion. The KNN websites also carry Kashmiri Music and several video documentaries in "Real Player" format, paintings by Kashmiri Pandit artists, articles on our language with actual audio clips, among many other things.

These web sites are located at the following Internet addresses :

- Kashmiri Pandits http://iKashmir.org/
- Kashmir Herald http://KashmirHerald.com/
- Virtual Homeland of KPs http://Kashmiri-Pandit.org
- Panun Kashmir http://www.PanunKashmir.org/
- Satisar Foundation http://www.Satisar.org/
- Koshur – Kashmiri Language http://koshur.org/

We have also started our own private e-mail club called the **KPandit**, hosted by *Yahoo!* groups. The KPandit is designed to be a forum where views and news about Kashmir imbroglio, articles about our unique culture, religion, history, and current political affairs, are freely exchanged. Subscription to the KPandit service is free and available to a KP with a valid e-mail address anywhere around the world, and can be requested by sending e-mail to the following e-mail address:

KPandit-subscribe@yahoogroups.com

Some website addresses of interest are:

Arts & Culture

History	http://ikashmir.org/history.html
Region	http://ikashmir.org/culture.html
Geography	http://ikashmir.org/Geography/index.html
Tourism	http://ikashmir.org/Nature/index.html
Language	http://iKashmir.org/Languages/index.html
	http://koshur.org/
Proverbs	http://ikashmir.org/Proverbs/index.html
Cuisine	http://ikashmir.org/Cookbook/index.html
Music	http://ikashmir.org/Music/index.html
Folktales	http://ikashmir.org/Folk/index.html
Paintings	http://ikashmir.org/Paintings/index.html
Artistes	http://ikashmir.org/Artistes/index.html
Playwrights	http://ikashmir.org/Playwrights/index.html

Poets	http://ikashmir.org/Poets/index.html
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Glimpses of Culture	http://ikashmir.org/Glimpses/index.html
Crown of India	http://ikashmir.org/Crown/index.html

Political Literature

Appeal	http://ikashmir.org/Appeal/index.html
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Auschwitz in Kashmir	http://ikashmir.org/Atrocities/index.html
Pakistan's Role	http://ikashmir.org/Pakistan/index.html
Afghanistan Factor	http://ikashmir.org/Afghanistan/index.html
Refugee Status	http://ikashmir.org/Refugees/index.html
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Slide Presentations	http://ikashmir.org/Slides/index.html
Articles & Opinions	http://ikashmir.org/Column/index.html

Religion

Hinduism	http://ikashmir.org/religion.html
Rituals	http://ikashmir.org/Festivals/index.html
Temples	http://ikashmir.org/Temples/index.html
Deities	http://ikashmir.org/Gods/index.html
Saints and Sages	http://ikashmir.org/Saints/index.html
Bhajans	http://ikashmir.org/Bhajans/index.html
Lal Ded's Vakhs	http://ikashmir.org/BNSopori/index.html
Nilmata Purana	http://ikashmir.org/Purana/index.html
Panchastavi	http://ikashmir.org/Patrika/panchastavi.html
Shaivism	http://ikashmir.org/Shaivism/index.html
Kundalini	http://ikashmir.org/Kundalini/index.html

Publications

Kashmir Herald	http://kashmirherald.com/
Kashmir Sentinel	http://kashmirsentinel.com/
Koshur Samachar	http://ikashmir.org/KoshSam/index.html
Patrika	http://ikashmir.org/Patrika/index.html
Unmesh	http://www.unmesh.com/
Vitasta Annual Number	http://www.vitasta.org/
Milchar	http://www.milchar.com/
Voice of J&K	http://ikashmir.org/VOJK/index.html

Organizations

Virtual Homeland of KPs	http://kashmiri-pandit.org/
Panun Kashmir	http://www.panunkashmir.org/
Satisar Foundation	http://www.satisar.org/
Vyeth Television	http://ikashmir.org/VyethTelevision
IILS	http://www.iils.org/

Acknowledgements

Credit goes to the KP authors who have, by writing timely articles on our culture and religion, rendered yeoman's service to our community at a time when we find ourselves as refugees in our own country with the threat of extinction glaring us in our face. The articles reproduced in this document and others are *compiled*, not edited, in its original form as they appeared in various publications. This document is part of **The Kashmir Series** which is being distributed over the internet. No money is being raised in any form for such a project. The titles that comprise this series are:

The Kashmir Series

Arts & Culture

- Kashmir Region & its People
- Kashmiri Poets
- Kashmiri Folktales
- Kashmiri Playwrights
- Kashmiri Painters
- Kashmiri Artistes
- Culinary Art of Kashmir
- Naming of Kashmiri Pandits
- Kashmir Proverbs
- Kashmiri Pandit Personalities
- Kashmiri Pandit Leaders
- Kashmir: The Crown of India
- Kashmir: Poetry of Nature
- The Geography of Jammu & Kashmir
- Srinagar & its Environs
- Koshur: An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri

Religion

- Hinduism in Kashmir
- The Places of Worship
- Saints and Sages of Kashmir
- Kashmiri Pandit Festivals
- Kundalini
- Kashmir Shaivism
- Our Guru Dev

Political Literature

- Panun Kashmir Publications
- Article 370
- White Paper on Kashmir
- Kashmir: Past and Present
- Wail of a Valley
- The Kashmir Story
- Historical Documents
- Articles & Opinions

The articles compiled in this document have been taken from the following publications:

Koshur Samachar
Kashmir Bhawan
Amar Colony, Lajpat Nagar
New Delhi - 110 024

Patrika
Bhagwaan Gopinath Jee Trust
Pamposh Enclave, G. K. - 1
New Delhi, India

Vitasta
Kashmir Bhawan, Calcutta
CK-35 (near CK Market)
Karunamoyee, Salt Lake
Calcutta – 700 091
Ph: 358 3932

Gems of Kashmiri Literature and Kashmiriyat
The Trio of Saint Poets - I
by P. N. Razdan (Mahanori)
Publishers: Samkaleen Prakashan
2762, Rajguru Road, Paharganj,
New Delhi- 110055

Kashmir: Crown of India
Vivekananda Kendra, Kanyakumari
June, 1984

An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri
by Braj B. Kachru
Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois 61801 U.S.A.
June, 1973

Unmesh
Publication of N.S. Kashmir Research Institute
D-7/7175,
Vasant Kunj,
New Delhi - 110 070 (INDIA)

Glimpses of Kashmiri Culture
Shri Parmananda Research Institute (REGD.)
(under the auspices of Shri Rupa Devi Sharada Peetha Trust)
Raghunath Mandir, 2/3 Bridge
Srinagar, Kashmir

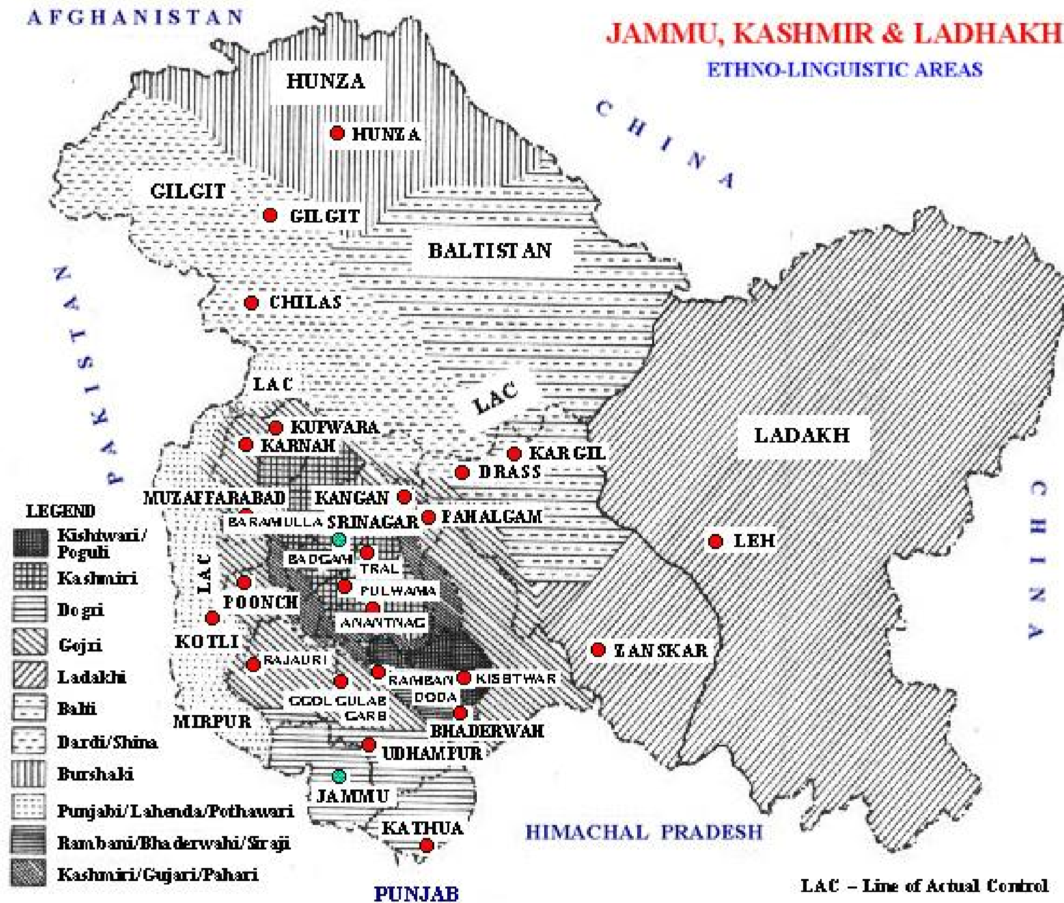
SaffronValley.com

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1 Introduction

Understanding the complex dynamics of language development in a multi-lingual State like Jammu and Kashmir, is not only a challenging task but also important for creating informed opinion about the status of languages and their role in identity formation. Often described as a three-storeyed edifice founded upon bonds of history and geography and linked by a common destiny, the J&K State presents a fascinating mosaic of cross-cultural interaction.



Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh:
Ethno-Linguistic Areas (Not to scale)

References

Reference Number	Reference Name
1.	**Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh - Linguistic Predicament** ***Edited by:*** P. N. Pushp and K. Warikoo Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation Har-Anand Publications
2.	**Koshur Samachar**
3.	**Vitasta Annual Number**
4.	**Kshir Bhawani Times**

2 Kashmiri and the Linguistic Predicament of the State

P. N. Pushp



P. N. Pushp

Kashmiri is the language recognised by the Constitution of India (in the VIII Schedule) as the language of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Nevertheless, it has yet to be reflected in the school curriculum even at the primary level of pedagogy.

During the early fifties Kashmiri was, no doubt, introduced in the schools of the Valley, from the I to the V Primary, not only as a subject of study but also as a medium of instruction. But the experiment was discarded, soon after, as unfeasible on the lame excuse of a clumsy script.

Even after a fairly suitable script was officially accepted for the language, and a new set of textbooks produced for re-introduction of teaching of the Kashmiri/Dogri/Punjabi language as an elective subject, the experiment did not take off. Systematic implementation of the project was progressively postponed on some plea or the other. It was argued that Kashmiri could not be introduced as long as the demarcation of areas for teaching Dogri and Punjabi in the Jammu Province was not finalized; and the finalization was intriguingly delayed and delayed. The scheme was, meantime, nipped in the bud.

What, apparently, was viewed as an administrative concern, however, turned out to be a tacit dread of pressurizing by political chauvinism. Chauvinists were in fact, haunted by misconceived notions of identity-building in isolation. The dread was that the Urdu language would be considerably dislodged from the socio-cultural bases occupied by it during the Dogra period when it replaced Persian as the language of administration. What was forgotten, conveniently, was: once the pupils would be able to read their mother tongues they would be in a better position to learn the other tongue also) without phonetic mix-up. They are, otherwise, likely to superimpose some linguistic features of their mother tongues on the Urdu language they would per force learn as the first language which it, actually, was not.

The mother tongue, obviously, has not to be taught; what has to be taught is the **script** in which the mother tongue is written. It would afterwards, be easier to learn the sounds peculiar to Urdu without allowing the mother tongue interfere with the phonetic exercise involved. Confusion arises mostly because more than one script is over- ambitiously taught to the helpless child during a single term. A number of scripts can, nevertheless, be playfully learnt one after the other allowing enough time to practise the use of one script before another is taken up.

Before we consider the pedagogical strategy in detail, however, a glance at the linguistic criss-cross of the State may throw up some relevant perspectives. At the first glance the criss-cross appears to be quite dauntingly complex: we find a diversity of languages and dialects spoken by people inhabiting various areas exposed to diverse processes of contact, encounter and interaction from time to time. Alongside the broad operation of what is historically recognized as the prominent language of an area we find some other languages and dialects also spoken in a particular circle, strip or pocket of the area concerned.

Occasionally some of the dormant scctors of speakers suddenly wake up to a refreshing stroke of socio-cultural aspiration or political ambition. That is what has been often happening and has recently happened in the case of Gojri and Pahari. The **New Kashmir** blueprint had (as early as 1946) rightly guaranteed rehabilitation of all the neglected tongues of the State.

Let us now take the State area wise. In Ladakh we find Bodhi (Ladakhi) in Leh and Balti (akin to the Balti of Baltistan) in Kargil with pockets of Kashmiri and Hindustani (Hindi/Urdu). The Valley has Kashmiri, by and large, with strips or tracts of Gojri, Shina, Pahari and Panjabi, mostly linked together by a smattering of Urdu. Linguistic contiguity and exchange, occasionally, gives rise to a mixup like what is popularly labelled as the **Sikh-Kashmiri** and the **Gujar-Kashmiri**. Similarly, Jammu has Dogri, Panjabi and Poonchi (Pahari) with strips of Gojri and pockets of Pogli-Kashtawari (Kashmiri), Bhadrawahi with its dialect (Bhalesi) and sub-pockets like Siraji and Rambani (in the Doda district).

Kashmiri is spoken by over thirty one lakhs of people in an area of over 10,000 sq. miles, within the J&K State (Census 1981). Though concentrated mostly within the Kashmir Valley it has a few sizable pockets across the Pir Panjal range also, particularly in the Doda district. Smaller pockets, however, are found not only in the Poonch-Rajauri area but also at other places such as Gool-Gulabgarh, Riasi and Basohli.

Despite regional variation of accent and usage, however, the **Marazi** and **Kamrazi bolis** (dialects) of Kashmiri are identical in structural matrix and morphological configuration. The **Kishtawari** dialect (with its twin, the **Pogli**) nevertheless, has chanced to preserve quite a few layers of early growth that yield telling clues to the morphological development of the language in consonance with the regional Prakrit-Apakhramsa rather than the hypothetical Dardic/Pisaci stock, as Grierson would like us to believe. The doyen of the Linguistic Survey of India has, no doubt, rendered monumental service to the cause of studies in Indian languages; yet, he seems to have gone astray at least on two counts. First, the classification of the Kashmiri language as Dardic; and, secondly, insistence on labelling two free variations of the Kashmiri utterance as Hindu Dialect and Muslim Dialect.

This genius of a linguistic scholar somehow felt fascinated by the probability of such a hypothesis which unfortunately for him remained pampered within the confines of probability and did not get ratified as an objective fact of linguistic development. Consider, for instance, a few of his observations that he published in a series of articles in the *Indian Antiquary* (1931-33);

1. "It is **probable** that in Dardic language distinction between dental and cerebral mutes is not as sharp as in India proper".

2. "In Kashmiri and **probably** in all Dardic languages the following pairs of vowels are commonly confused, i.e.

ī, ē; u, o; ü, ĕ."

3. "All the Dardic languages **probably** possess **e**-matra, but **only** in Kashmiri do we find positive information about it."

No categorical statement of his based on clinching evidence appeared even after 1933 that could release his hypothesis from the confines of mere probability. The words underlined in the excerpts quoted above reflect, in fact, a fair degree of uncertainty when studied further in the light of the linguistic data furnished by the eminent scholar in support of his hypothesis. The data adduced by him in this regard is just confined to tentative resemblances: just some casual sounds, and vagrant vocables regardless of the evidence offered by the structural framework that the Kashmiri language shares with sister languages including Sindhi, Panjabi, Marathi, Gujrati and Bengali. By the way, it is not an old vocable (adopted or adapted) occurring in an utterance that indicates its lineage; on the other hand, the structural **matrix** in which the vocable is framed is a sure index to the lineage as well as the level of linguistic development of the utterance.

Nor does Grierson's data throw any sure light on the most striking peculiarity of the Kashmiri language, i.e. the morphology of the verb that carries with it the pronominal morphs as well as the synthetical case-morphs of the agentive and the accusative dative. Let us take **Vonmas**, for instance, meaning: **I** told **him**. The form is partially like the Sanskrit **avadam**; but more closely, like the Perisan **goftamash** (which carries the agentive as well as the accusative markets). Was this trait of the old Avestan-Vedic verb-morphology, somehow, alive in the literary memory of Kashmir at the time Kashmiri was evolving out of the regional Prakrit-Apabhramsa round about the tenth century?

The linguistic features vaguely claimed to be shared by the Dardic languages are by no means peculiar to the Shina- Dardic Group, but are already there in the Indo-Iranian heritage. Even if Dardic impact be detected and conceded here and there, it is too meagre and superficial to warrant formulation of the Dardic origin of Kashmiri. Origin lies not on the surface but has to be identified at the deep structure of the syntax.

Similarly untenable is Grierson's insistence on formulating two main varieties of Kashmiri fondly labelled by him as **Hindu dialect** and **Muslim dialect**. The two versions of the Prodigal son (The Biblical Parable) furnished under the two labels betray methodological arbitrariness because both the versions can be taken as free variation of the Kashmiri utterance common to a Hindu as well a Muslim speaker of the language.

Calling '**Akis mahnivis aasy zu necivy**' typically Hindu, and '**Akis shakhsas aasy zu necivy**' typically Muslim, in contradistinction with each other is quite simplistic, even ludicrous. A Hindu and a Muslim could both have used either of the two vocables, **mahnavis** and **shakhsas** with equal ease and could also have used **zanis** without any inhibition. Both are sensible enough to operate appropriate registers of socio-cultural context irrespective of religious denomination. The next sentence (in the Parable) goes a step further in cooking up the myth of a Hindu dialect and a Muslim dialect in terms of the vocables **manz** and **andar** (respectively) i.e. in **timav manza dop koonsy hivy maalis** and **timav andra dop lokuty hivy maalis**.

Grierson seems to have been unconsciously inhibited by the Fort William model of the Hindu/Urdu syndrome, in terms of Mir Aman's **Urdu** and Lallu Ji Lal's **Hindi**, both meant to enlighten the new entrants into the Indian Civil Service under the Raj. Obviously, Grierson's assistants had not cared to develop a suitable mechanism for verification of the linguistic samples furnished to him in response to indoctrinative terms of reference, somewhat like: speak this as a typical **Hindu**/ as a typical **Muslim**.

Reckless enthusiasts (innocent of linguistic perspectives) have taken widely extreme postures regarding the origin of the Kashmiri language. On the one extreme end are those who are inspired by Khwaja Nazir Ahmad's *Jesus in Heaven or Earth* (1953). Taking their stand on chance resemblance of sounds **detected** in words (of remotely distant stocks) they seek to **prove** that Kashmiri owes its origin to Hebrew moorings. On the other extreme end are those who claim that the Kashmiri language is as old as the Vedic. (Every Indian language, of course is!) Neither of these cadres of crusaders has cared to consult the Kashmiri language itself as to the stratification of its structural evidence. The evidence of the structural matrix of the Kashrhiri utterance conclusively establishes that the language of Kashmir is a late medieval development of the Indict (Prakrita- Apabhrams'a) stock, and is quite akin to other modern Indian languages of the Indo-Aryan family.

Historically studied and structually scrutinized, the Kashmiri language doubtlessly appears to have emerged out of a Prakrita-Apabhrams'a substratum of the region round about the X century. Why else should Ksemendra (XI cent.) have recommended the prospective Sanskrit poets of the time to positively study the **bhasa-Kayya** (: Verse in the regional dialect of Kashmir) alongside the Prakrita- **Apabhrams'a Kavyas**? A few years later, Bilhana, another celebrity of Kashmir, admires the women of his native land for their superb command over both Sanskrit and Prakrit which they wielded with equal ease as if they were wielding their mother tongue (unequivocally termed **janma-bhasa**).

Obviously the mother tongue, in due course, developed into what Siri-Kantha (XIII cent.) has described as **sarva- gocara desa-bhasa** (: the language widely understood in the region by one and all), written of course in the Sharada script.

The nomenclature (: Kashmiri), however, is recorded for the first time by Amir Khusru in his *Nuh Sipihir* (C. 1300 A.D.). He mentions the word **Kashmiri** alongside **Lahori** and **Sindhi** as an outstanding name in India's linguistic landscape of the times.

Yet, dominated by the classical language, the vehicle of elitist culture, Kashmiri had to remain content as a medium of lowbrow (folk) culture, mostly catering to the literary needs of the non-privileged. It was generally cultivated by those that either had the inner urge to compose verse in the mother tongue or by those that simply failed to make a mark in the classical language. It, nevertheless, flourished as a language of rich expression as is reflected by its folksong and folktale sparking with proverbial collocation.

In this context it would be worthwhile to get a peep or two into the historical legacy of the classical language that have left their deep impress on the Kashmiri language by conditioning its growth in terms of form as well as scope.

The earliest evidence of the Sanskrit-writing in Kashmir is that of the *Sarvastivada* tradition of the Mahayana preoccupying itself with dissemination of the Dhamma, as perceived and interpreted by Kashmiri savants and scholars. It was their reputation for eminence that attracted Hieun Tsiang to Kashmir (in 631 A.D.) where, as many as twenty scribes were placed at his disposal for copying manuscripts preserved at the Jayendra-vihara of the city. The Chinese pilgrim's impressions of his two years' stay at the Vihara are an eloquent testimony to the pervasive presence of Sanskrit in Kashmir.

The language may not ever have been a spoken language of the Valley; yet it continued to be not only the language of Kashmir's court and culture but also of creative as well as critical writing till the late 14th century. It contributed to religious thirking and aesthetic appreciation as also to poetic articulation, both lyrical and reflective. Among its outstanding contribution may be mentioned:

1. The philosophic writing on Kashmir Saivism, particularly on the Trika Dars'ana also called the *Pratyabhyna*.

2. Systematization of various schools of Indian Poetics propounding original points of view not only on *Rasa* but also on *Riti, Dhvani, Vakrokti* and *Aucitya*.

3. Collections of (Brihatkatha) tales. Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara, in particular, provided the models for various versions in world language, through the mediation of the Persian rendering.

4. Historical narratives like the Rajatarangini of Kalhana who struck a new path in verse-writing by structuring the historical flux of time into a sizable chronicle covering some currents and cross-currents of Kashmir's past down to the middle of the twelfth century.

5. The satire of Ksemendra who caricatured agents of administrative bungling and debunked promoters of moral dereliction.

Manuscripts of these Sanskrit works, have come down to us in the Sharada script which emerged out of the Brahmi (Gupta) script towards the beginning of the ninth century. Naturally, therefore, the same script served the purposes of Kashmiri language also when it came to be written in the tenth century. Curiously enough the script continued to be in use for some time even after the advent of Islam and for a few years coexisted with the Persi-Arabic script particularly on some tomb-stones.

Sanskrit, naturally, continued to be the language of court and culture for a few years even after the advent of Islam (in Kashmir) till the Persian language totally replaced it as the language of court and administration. Establishment of Islam in the Valley (by the middle of the XIV century) opened up a two-way intercourse between Kashmir and the centres of Persian culture, particularly Khurasan, Samarkand, Bukhara, Merv and Herat. Divines and Sufis from these seats of learning and culture brought with them the Persian language and literature, while princes, scholars and traders from Kashmir also felt tempted to see a bit of the outside world.

Interlinguistic exchanges threw up valuable works like Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri's *Bahr-al Asmar* (: Persian rendering of Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara*), prepared at the instance of Zain-ul-abidin (1420-70 AD), and Srivar's *Kathakautuka* (Sanskrit rendering of Jami's Yusaf-Zulaikha) prepared in 1505 AD. During the Mughal period (1586-1752 AD) in Kashmir, we find a galaxy of Kashmir's Persian writers rubbing shoulders with their contemporaries from Iran, particularly form Mashad and Hamadan, besides those from other parts of the subcontinent. Persian, thus, flourished and lingered on in Kashmir as language of administration down to the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925 AD) when Urdu and English (in part) took over from it.

Yet, during the five centuries of its sway in Kashmir the rich language produced over three hundred writers and more than a thousand (major and minor) works, creative as well as critical. Its popularity with all sections of Kashmirian society became so pervasive that even the Kashmiri Pandits felt tempted to read their masterpieces like the Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagavata, Yogavasistha, Shivapurana and Bhagavat Gita in Persian rendering. Most of the Pandit families treasured the Manuscripts of the *Sirr- e Akbar* by Dara Shikuh who during his visit to Kashmir was inspired to undertake the Persian rendering of the Upanishads. In the prologue to the work he informs us how he felt induced to attempt such a gigantic task of cross- cultural dissemination when in 1050 A.H. (corresponding to 1640 A.D.) he was thrilled to see his preceptor, Akhun Mullah Shah (at his Hari Parbat abode) holding converse with seekers belonging to diverse orders of spiritual quest. It was on his return to Banaras that very year that he sought the guidance of local scholars, and completed the work by 1067 A.H. (corresponding to 1656 A.D).

Evidently it was the Vaak-Shruk temper of Kashmir that had enraptured Akhun Mulla Shah, highly respected preceptor of Dara Shikuh who later on, in his *Majma-ul Bahrin* (The Confluence of the Two Oceans) shared his awareness of spiritual affinities with his readers, Muslims as well as non-Muslims. No wonder that even non-Muslims of Kashmir enjoyed reading Persian classics like the Mathnavi of Moulana Rumi, the Shahnama of Firdusi and the Sikandarnama of Nizami. These in fact, used to be taught in the **maktabs** often run by Kashmiri Pandit **Akhuns** who had no inhibition in popularizing Persian handbooks even on the **Karmakanda** (ritual) including chunks of Jyotisha (astrology) and **Ayurveda** (: Indian system of medicine). Such handbooks, often, revealed in quoting excerpts from original (Sanskrit) texts in the Sharada script. Some tracts on Kashmiri music of the Sufiana Kalam variety also were compiled in the Sharada script which almost withered away by the end of the nineteenth century.

It was natural, therefore, that when Persian progressively became the language of administration as well as cultural intercourse, Kashmiri also adopted the Persi-Arabic script which since has been accepted as the official script after a number of attempts at modification. These were meant to ensure due representation of sounds specific to the articulation of Kashmiri phonemes.

Earlier, however, the Nagari script was first employed for the Kashmiri language by Pandit Ishwar Kaul for his monumental work on Kashmiri Grammar titled *Kashmira- Sabdamritam*. His system of diacritics was adopted by Grierson not only for his Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language, but also for his editions of Kashmiri classics like *Sivaparinaya, Krishnavatara* and *Ramavataracarita*, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. During mid twenties Toshkhani adopted it with slight modification for his Kashmiri Primer and *Granz Vyad* (on Calculation) and also for small anthologies like *Sundar-Vaani*. Those very days the *Bahar-e-Kashmir* of Lahore included a section on Kashmiri in the Devanagari script. In mid-thirties the *Pratap* Magazine of the S. P. College, Srinagar, started Kashmiri sections in both Persian and Devanagari scripts.

Later, Masterji brought out an abridged text of Parmanand's works in two volumes of *Parmananda-Sukti-Sar* and published his own collection of verse, *Sumran* also in both the scripts. But the first persistent attempt to employ the Nagari script for the purposes of contemporary Kashmiri was made by the periodical, *Pamposh* of Delhi. Later the practice has been commendably continued by the *Koshur Samachar* of the Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi.

The Kashmiri language which has throughout missed court patrongage except for a brief period during Sultan Zain-ul Abidin's reign (1420-70) had, however, to face the odds and carry on at the folk level despite elitistic disinterest bordering on classical arrogance. Though denied facilities of schooling in it, the language persisted in its non-formal role as an inevitable medium of interpretation even in the State schools at the Primary level as it had done earlier in *Pathshalas* and *Maktabs*. The language continued to perform the vital role of an interpreter even in the early forties when the State introduced *Asan Urdu* in both the (Persian and Nagari) scripts as the common medium of instruction at the Primary level.

As Urdu in both the scripts was introduced on the recommendation of a Committee with Zakir Hussain as the Chairman and Khwaja Ghulam-us-Sayedain as Secretary, the other members being Siddheshwar Varma and Raghuvira. The committee, in fact, produced a basic Glossary of *Asan Urdu Terms* (published in both the scripts). Some how the project was not effectively followed up after Saiyedian relinquished the State job.

During the mid-seventies, however, it was again deemed advisable to equip school teachers (of the State) with a knowledge of both the scripts but mysteriously, again, the scheme was shelved, almost hushed up, despite the fact that the Kashmir University Department of Correspondence Courses, now called Distance Education, got a set of textbooks prepared in each of the two scripts.

Meantime, the Kashmir University set up a Kashmiri Department for post-graduate studies in language and literature with the laudable objective of producing competent Kashmiri scholars who could in due course be employed as Kashmiri teachers in the Higher Secondary Schools. Later, perhaps, they could think of coming down to the Primary level. Anyway, from the apex to the base, a new strategy, no doubt, but in response to what exigency? Nobody knows; even those that have cared to know do not know for certain.

What one knows for certain, however, is that by early eighties a whispering compaign was set afoot (in the Valley) against any attempt to pinpoint strands of composite culture symbolized by the **Vaak** of Lal Ded and the **Shruk** of *Nund Rishi* (Sheikh Noor ud Din Noorani). Any such attempt was derided as highly objectionable in the changing circumstances of militant insurgency. What was sought to be aggressively highlighted was any point of departure of Kashmiri language and culture form anything that carried echoes of Indian heritage of inter-community concord and harmony, perceiving unity in diversity.

Such being the latest scenario of inhibitive manoevers in the Valley, the linguistic predicament of the State has assumed a graver complexity. Administrative disdain has become fortified by a clannish hostility to the mother tongue dreaded as a cultural rival to the Urdu language. The reactionary zealots view it as a vital link in the chain of fundamentalist postures of insurgency. The damage done to the genuine cause of Kashmiri seems to be nobody's concern. A canard has been cunningly floated that it is the Central Government that thwarts the State Government's efforts to introduce the Kashmiri language at the Primary level. An insidious campaign to brainwash the youngsters clamouring for speedy redressal of the sidetracked cause has created the wrong impression that the State would have given the mother tongue its due if the Centre had not stood in their way. The distortionists boistrously argue that the Centre dreads the Kashmiri language as a focal point of Kashmiri identity. According to the canard the centre would not like the younger generation to appreciate how the Sahitya Academy (at the Centre) is keen to see that the Kashmiri language presents its best year by year. If the State fails to give it a proper go how can the Centre help it?

Administrative incanvenience, after all, is not incurable; it can be sagaciously managed provided there is the will to do so and egalitarian perspectives are allowed to operate undaunted by chauvinistic pressures. Let us probe the genesis of these pressures, succumbing to which even the well-meaning initiatives were foiled from time to time.

It appears that during the fifties the New Kashmir aspirations were dynamic enough to give the Kashmiri language a chance. The language was made at one stroke a subject of study as well as a medium of instruction. But soon the overcautious bureaucracy seems to have had after thoughts. They viewed the experiment as extremely inconvenient, for, despite its constitutional status Kashmiri, after all, was a

mother tongue likely to inspire other mother tongues of the State also to press for their claims to be accommodated in the school curriculum. What added to their perturbation was the displacement of Urdu the mother tongues were likely to cause. It was easy for wirepullers to take refuge under the blanket concern for 'national integration.'

The pretence, however, could easily be knocked out of bottom by pointing out that the mother tongue would peacefully co-exist with Urdu, the link language of the State. It should be the proud privilege of Urdu to perform its mighty role, coordinative as well as creative. As a coordinator it would introduce the mother tongue to one another, while as a vehicle of creativity it would enrich them by exposure to innovative articulation manisfesting itself in the subcontinent and the world. It need not tread upon the heels of any other tongue of the State, much less the mother tongue which certainly deserves a proper place of its own at the initial stages of schooling. The link language (Urdu) has not only to accommodate the mother tongue by respecting its inalienable right to form the corner stone of the edifice called schooling but also to place at its disposal the consolidated funds of its maturity. But will the State allow it to perform its genuine role in the circumstances?

A child has, after all, to outgrow the smaller circles into wider circumferences of socio-cultural interaction. Hence the need to learn a language or two over and above the mother tongue for which there can be no substitute whatsoever. It is high time, therefore, that no more time is lost in rehabilitating the Kashmiri language primarily as a mother tongue.

The linguistic predicament of the State, accordingly, is a pedagogic challenge to ensure proper placement of various languages and dialects spoken in an area of linguistic criss- cross, by working out a viable order of priorities and a sustainable system of linkages. The task concerned is, no doubt, a tough one, but it certainly deserves to be undertaken on a project basis.

Subject to availability of a basic minimum of instructional material any mother tongue can be introduced as the first language at the initial stage of schooling, but as emphasized earlier, one and only one script should be introduced at a time during a single term. A second script should be taken up only after the first one is thoroughly drilled. Overambitious parents may expect their child to flaunt his/ her acquaintance with the Roman script even before he/ she has practised the script of the mother tongue; but perceptive teachers will take care not to allow such inflictions. No such project nevertheless, can be worked out in isolation. May be the NCERT also will have to lend a helping hand in this regard by reconsidering some of its rigidities and taboos in the context of simultaneous introduction of at least two scripts, Nagari and Roman, for instance. In case the script of the link language happens to be different from that of the mother language, the pupil may have to learn a third script also, as (for instance) in the case of Panjabi and Bodhi. But, to lighten the instructional burden and optimise the learning output viable strategies of teaching a script can be suitably devised and gainfully employed.

Linguistic predicament of the State, thus, calls for appropriate logistics of pedagogy involving a thorough overhaul of curricula and syllabi at the initial stage. As a suggestive illustration, for instance, a viable model could be worked out on the following lines, in the context of the Kashmiri language:

At K.G. level:

L.K.G: Action-oriented (playway) chit-chat in the mother tongue with reference to telling models and charts facilitating an awareness of the child's links with his/her associates and immediate surroundings. No script is to be taught at this level.

U.K.G: Similar programmes in the link language (Urdu) in both the scripts, Persian and Nagari, may be run facilitating interlinguistic comprehension.

Grade One:

I Term: The script of the mother tongue may be taught through phonegraphemic pictorial making the process of learning immensely absorbing. Special care has to be taken to enable the new learner to recognize the correspondence between the sound of the alphabet and the graphemic visualization. The visuals have to be duly followed up with a fascinatingly thorough drill in writing the letters in significant sequence so that the learner is in a position to identify the scripted form of the utterance he/she is already familiar with.

II Term: A Zero-Reader featuring the basic utterance patterns of the Kashmiri language framed in significant contexts and situations, should certainly inspire the learner to go ahead on his/her own.

Grade Two:

I Term: With Kashmiri as the main medium of instruction, rudiments of environmental geography, civics, general science and mathematics may be imparted.

II Term: Side by side, a well-integrated programme of conversational segments of the link language (Urdu) may be worked out, through a suitable Zero-Reader. The Reader is expected to feature basic essentials of Urdu utterance ensuring a thorough comprehension of a generative framework within which new vocables could be fixed up as and when needed.

Grade Three:

I Term: Kashmiri would continue to be taught as a regular subject while Urdu (in either script) would take over from it as a common medium of instruction.

II Term: Roman script would be introduced after an absorbing drill of visual interface with the graphemes in terms of easily recognizable pictures indicating the sounds concerned in telling sequences.

Grade Four and Five:

Urdu will continue as the common medium of instruction, throughout and, besides, shall be there as a subject of study. Kashmiri will be taught as a subject of study ensuring a suitable cross-section of curricular needs as well as a vital interface with the language. The linguistic predicament of the State certainly clamours for a timely experiment like the one suggested above.

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3 Kashmiri Language: Roots, Evolution and Affinity

S. S. Toshkhani

Kashmiri is a unique language in the Indian linguistic context. It is analytic like the modern Indian languages of Sanskritic stock and synthetic like the Old Indo-Aryan itself, possessing characteristics of both and at the same time having peculiarities of its own many of which are yet to be fully explored. Linguistically, its importance can hardly be overlooked because, as Siddheshwar Verma has observed, it reveals linguistic strata of various ages-"Vedic, Buddhist Sanskrit, Pali, Kharoshthi Prakrit"1. George Buhler's view that it is of the greatest importance in the study of a comparative grammar of Indo-Aryan languages2 only stresses the obvious for preserving old word-forms and also revealing how new forms took shape from old bases, Kashmiri does seem to hold the key to understanding the processes through which these languages have passed in their development before assuming their present forms.

Grierson too appears to endorse the same point when he says that a study of the Kashmiri language is "an essential preliminary to any inquiry" regarding the "mutual relations of the modern Aryan vernaculars of India"3.

3.1 Vedic Origin

There exists a very strong evidence to support the claim that Kashmiri has descended from the Vedic speech or, as pointed out by Buhler, from "one of the dialects of which the classifical Sanskrit was formed"4. References are replete in Rig Vedic hymns to rivers and mountains which have been identified by scholars like Zimmer with definite places in Kashmir, indicating that the region was a part of the Vedic Aryan world - at least in the geographical sense. Linguistically too this fact is strongly corroborated by the presence of a large number of lexical and phonetic elements in Kashmiri that can be directly traced to Vedic sources. These include several words most commonly used in everyday speech in Kashmiri. For example, we have the Kashmiri word yodvay meaning if, what if, yet, still, nonetheless. This appears in almost the same form in the Vedic word yaduvay 5, the corresponding word for it in Sanskrit and Hindi being yadi. Similarly, the word basti, which in Kashmiri means skin, hide, bellows, is hardly different from the Vedic basti meaning goat or bastajin meaning goatskin. The Vedic word sin occurs as syun in Kashmiri meaning "a cooked vegetable", while the Vedic san appears in Kashmiri as son meaning deep. Again, the word vay which means grains in Vedic is used in Kashmiri in the same sense. From the Vedic root taksh comes the Kashmiri word tachch (to scratch, to peel, to plane, to scrape) and its derivative chchan (carpenter, Skt Ksh invariably changing to chch in Kashmiri). Several Kashmiri words have evolved from Vedic through intermediary Pali or Prakrit forms. For instance, Ksh. atsun (to enter), Pali accheti, Vedic atyeti. Similarly Vedic prastar, from which the Hindi word patthar (stone) is derived, changes through the intermediary Prakrit form pattharo to pathar or pathur in Kashmiri retaining the original sense of "on the ground" or "floor". These are but a few of the numerous examples that show how Kashmiri has preserved phonetic, semantic and even morphological elements of the Vedic speech.

It is perhaps on the basis of such overwhelming evidence that eminent inguists like Jules Bloch, Turner, Morgenstierne, Emeneau, Siddheshwar Verma and several other scholars have pointed to the Vedic origin of Kashmiri, arriving at their conclusions after intensive research on the actual traits of the language.

Phonetic aspects of how Kashmiri retains some of the most archaic word forms that can be traced only to the Old Indo-Aryan speech have been analysed at some length by Siddheshwar Verma. Citing word after word, Verma provides evidence on how Kashmiri shows contact with older layers of Indo-Aryan vocabulary 6. The Kashmiri word Kral (potter) derived from the Vedic Sanskrit Kulal is one of such words which he has examined in detail, taking help of Turner's Nepali dictionary. While all other modern Indo- Aryan languages, except Nepali and Sinhalese, have for it words derived from the Sanskrit kumbhakar, Kashmiri alone preserves remnants of the relatively older kulal, he points out, which appears for the first time in the Vajasneyi Samhita of the Vedas. Kumbhakar makes its appearance after the Vedic age (c.f.Monier Williams: Sanskrit-English Dictionary) and it is from this that words like Hindi Kumhar,

Gujrati-Marathi kunwar and Western Pahari kumar have originated. Tomul (uncooked rice) is another word cited by him in this context, which, he says, has retained the initial ta of Sanskrit tandulam, while other modern Indo-Aryan languages generally have cha. For example, we have chawal in Hindi and Gujrati, chaul in Bengali and Oriya, chaur in Sindhi, chamal in Nepali. Retention of the original r in Kashmiri pritsh (Skt. prichcha = to ask) and prang (Skt. paryank = bed) are other notable examples, according to him, of the tendency (in Kashmiri) to preserve original phonetical elements. Kochchwu, the Kashmiri word for tortoise, he goes on to point out, indicates that the original word must have been kashyapa and not kachchapa as in Kashmiri. Skt. ksha almost invariably changes to chcha, e.g. aechchi < Skt. akshi, maechchi < Skt.

Editor's note: 'ae' is used for Greek symbol for delta (lower case). A text editor does not provide a delta.

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makshika, lachch < Skt. laksha, vachch < Skt. vaksha and so on. The intermediary form derived from kashyapa, which actually occurs in the Vajsaneyi Samhita, must have been kakashapa, Verma suggests.

Arguing along similar lines, eminent Kashmiri linguist S.K. Toshkhani goes a bit further and suggests that Kashmiri may have preserved even some pre-Vedic phonetic elements 7. Citing examples, he refers to the Kashmiri words rost and sost which correspond to Sanskrit rahit and sahit respectively. Rost and sost, he says, appear to be older than rahit and sahit, and could be pre-Vedic as the change of sa to ha is regarded a relatively later development.

3.2 Grierson's views

George A. Grierson, however, holds entirely different views on the question of affinity of Kashmiri. Disregarding the overwhelming evidence that reveals its basic Indo-Aryan character, he seeks to banish the language from the Sanskritic family, preferring instead to classify it under the Pishacha or Dardic group, which, he holds, occupies a position "intermediate between the Sanskritic language of India proper and the Eranian languages farther to their West"8. Considering Dardic languages, including the Shina-Khowar group, to have developed from the Indo-Iranian branch of Aryan, he uses the cover term Pishacha to describe them and observes that Kashmiri too shares their characteristics and so must be grouped with them. He tries to shrug off the predominance of Indo-Aryan vocabulary in Kashmiri by attributing it to a powerful influence of Indian culture and literature for over two thousand years and arguing that vocabulary alone cannot be the determining factor of the classification of a language. "Kashmiri", he concludes, "is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Pishacha family allied to Shina", explaining that by basis he means "its phonetic system, its accidence, its syntax, its prosody"9.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji almost echoes Grierson when he observes that "the Kashmiri language is a result of very large overlaying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements"10. But neither Grierson nor Chatterji have heen able to show what this Dardic base precisely is or produce any evidence of the "over-laying". However, their conclusions have found almost uncritical acceptance by many, creating a confusion that shows no sign of abating and letting a totally erroneous view to prevail. It must be strongly asserted that Grierson's arguments and pronouncements are based on extremely flimsy evidence which has little to do with the facts of the language, and need, therefore, to be re-examined, particularly at a time when the very basis of his theory of Aryan immigration in waves is being seriously questioned. His classification of Kashmiri is overdue for rejection as seriously flawed and arbitrary.

3.3 Kashmiri and Pishachi

Grierson starts from a false premise when he equates Kashmiri with Pishachi and therefore with Dardic and Iranian, a theory that makes little linguistic sense and has even lesser basis in historical facts. His infatuation with this equation notwithstanding, there are questions which refuse to be exorcised. Were the

supposed raw-flesh eating Pishacas actual speakers of Pishachi Prakrit? Were they and the inhabitants of Dardistan one and the same people historically? Both find mention in the Mahabharata and in the Rajatarangini, but in different contexts and as separate and distinct ethnic groups. Nowhere have their ethnic traits or identities overlapped or been confused with one another - something that only Grierson has attempted on the basis of far-fetched and hardly tenable evidence.

Scholars are absolutely not sure and certainly not in agreement about the linguistic features and exact geographical area of Pishachi. Yet Grierson in his obsession to separate Kashmiri from Indo-Aryan languages extends as though with a sweep of his hand the Pishachi and hence Dardic speaking region from the Hindukush to Goa11, assuming too much and interchanging the terms Pishacha and Dard only to create a mess from which linguistic research has yet to recover. And granted for a moment they are interchangeable terms in ethnic as well as linguistic sense, is there sufficient material for one to adduce inferences about the features of Pishachi and sufficient grounds to apply these on one to one basis to Dardic larguages and equally to Kashmiri? Was Chulika Pishachi an Indo-Iranian form of speech? For answering these queries all that we have to fall back upon is what the Prakrit grammarians have to say in this regard and the stray examples they have cited in their works, for of Pishachi virtually no record exists, the great Brihatkatha of Gunadya having been completely lost.

What we gather from Vararuchi, Hemachandra and other Prakrit grammarians boils down to but a few phonetic and morphological features with which Kashmiri has hardly anything to do. One of these is hardening of soft consonants in Pishachi as compared to Sanskrit, or the third and fourth voiced aspirated stops becoming voiceless and unaspirated. This process is nowhere in evidence in Kashmiri except in some rare cases limited to borrowings from Persian. Thus ga seldom changes to ka in Kashmiri-there being absolutely no possibility of nagar changing to nakar or gagan to gakan (examples chosen by the Prakrit grammarians to illustrate their point), nor of guru changing to kuru or gachcha to katsh. Sanskrit agni changes to agin and lagna becomes lagun (of Hindi lagna) the ga remaining strong and unchanged in initial, medial or terminal positions. Again gha is pronounced as ga but in no case does it become kha as is said to happen in Pishachi-megha > mekho is unthinkable in Kashmiri in which ghotaka > gur, ghama > gum and ghata > gati. Further, d at the end of a word does not change to t. Thus, Damodar changing to Tamotar, as shown to happen in Pishachi is absolutely impossible in Kashmiri. In fact, there are several examples of the final ta changing to da, as, for instance, in Skt. anta > Ksh and, Skt. danta > Ksh. > dand. The consonant is, however, mostly retained in Kashmiri in initial and medial positions while changing to th in the final position (rakta > rath, gati > gath, mati > math, prati > prath, shata > shath and so on.

Also, Sanskrit ja is pronounced as za in Kashmiri and does not become cha as the rules of Pishachi phonetics would have required. Thus, jal becomes zal, jana becomes zon, jangha becomes zang, jarjar becomes zazur and ujjwal changes to wozul. In borrowings from Persian, however, ja usually remains unaltered, as in jald, janawar, jurmani, jae:hil, jang etc. Of Sanskrit ra changing to la, a frequent phenomenon occuring even before the Prakrits were evolved, there are but very few examples, the tendency to retain it as such being quite strong. For example, rajju > raz, raksha > rachh, taranam > tarun, maranam > marun, patra > vaethr, mitra > myethir, sutra > sithir, mutra > mithir and so on. Final dha is pronounced as da, loosing its aspiration, but not as tha to which it changes as in Pishachi.

Morphologically too Kashmiri does not share any of the characteristics attributed to Pishachi. The ablative of stems ending in a is not marked by ato or atu, nor does the past- participle tva changes to tun, or thun or dun as Prakrit grammarians have laid down. Sanskrit tva invariably becomes it or ith in Kashmiri as illustrated by Kritva > karitva > karith, nutva > namayitva > naemith, mritva > marith, dhritva > darith and so on.

As against this none of the actual linguistic traits of Kashmiri, phonetical or morphological, can be traced in Pishachi, of which examples provided by the Prakrit grammarians are the only record available. One, therefore, sees little logic in forcibly imposing on Kashmiri features of a virtually non-existent language. All that Grierson has done is to gather far-fetched examples, mostly from Dardic and Kafir languages, and attribute these to Kashmiri, claiming that rare exceptions form the rule and pronunciation of a few words

(Persian borrowings) represents phonetical tendencies of the whole language. A much laboured exercise, surely, but also gross misrepresentation of facts.

3.4 Is Kashmiri a Dardic Language?

Coming to Dard languages proper, Grierson's pet theory that these together with Kashmiri and the Kafir group constitute a special branch of Indo-Iranian can hardly withstand linguistic scrutiny. Georg Morgentierne rejects it outright by maintaining that the so-called Dardic languages are in reality Indo-Aryan and not Iranian. Their word-stock is mainly Indo-Aryan and so are their basic characteristics, he contends. Morgiensterne finds Grierson to have muddled the whole issue by clubbing together the Dardic and the Kafir languages into one single group, and so he is not inclined on the basis of his own research to accept Grierson's views. "I am unable to share these views", he observes. "The Dardic languages, in contradistinction to the Kafir group, are of pure IA (Indo-Aryan) origin and go back to a form of speech closely resembling Vedic"12.

Endorsing Morgenstierne's observations, Emeneau adds that these (Dardic) languages are Indo-Aryan but they did not pass through the MIA (Middle Indo-Aryan) development represented by the records, while on the other hand the Kafir languages (Kati, Waigali, Ashkun, Prasun and to some extent Dameli) may occupy some sort of special position"13. With Jules Bloch and Burrow too taking the line that the Dardic (Shina-Khowar group) languages have Indo-Aryan characteristics while the Kafir group may have Iranian affiliations, there is no justification for applying a different yardstick to Kashmiri. Kashmiri too is just as much Indo- Aryan as, say, Shina to which Grierson finds it allied. By confusing Pishachi with Dardic and Dardic with Kafir speeches and all these in turn with Kashmiri, Grierson has botched up the whole question of affiliation.

We find him going to absurd lengths in trying to establish that Kashmiri has close affinity with Shina, shutting himself out from facts and displaying on]y a superficial knowledge of Dardic phonetic and morphological systems. Ironically, while he rejects vocabulary as the determining factor in the matter of linguistic classification, he starts with using this very factor as a proof for his conclusions. Of the 128 Shina words he has listed for having cognate forms in Kashmiri 14, more than 107 are unmistakably of Sanskrit origin-a fact that he chooses to conceal. Let us have a look at some of these:

English	Shina	Kashmiri	Sanskrit
acid	churko	tsok	chukra
after	phatu	pati	pashchat
army	sin	sina	sena
aunt	pafi (Hindi fufi)	poph	pitushvasr
autumn	sharo	harud	sharad
be	bo-	bov	bhu
beard	dei	daer	danshtrika
between	maji (Pkt. majjh, Hindi manjh)	manz	madhya
blue	nilo (Hindi nila)	nyul	nila

Bone	atoi	aedij	asthi
bow	danu	duny	dhanush
break	put	phut	sphot
cold	shidalo	shital (the actual Kashmiri word is 'shihul')	shital
cow	go	gav	gau, gav
dance	nat	nats	nrtya
day	dez	doh	divas
death	maren	mara (marun)	maranam
dog	shu	hun	shun or shwan
dry	shuko (Hindi sukha)	hokh	shushka
ear	kon	kan	karna
eat	ko-	khe	khad
escape	much	mwkal	much, mukti
face	mukh	mwkh	mukham
far	dur	dur	duram
feet	pa	pad	pada
finger	agul	ongijy	anguli
fortnight	pach	pachh	paksha
give	di (the actual word is doiki)	di	dada
gold	son	swan	swarna
grape	jach	dachh	draksha
hand	hat	athi	hasta
leaf (of a tree)	pato (Hindi 'pat')	patir	patra
learn	sich (Hindi sikh)	hechh	shikasha
lip	onti	wuth	oshtha

man	manuzho	mohnyuv	manushya
meat	mos	maz	mamsa
milk	dut	dwd	dugdha
naked	nanno	non	nagna
name	nam	nav	nama
new	nowu	nov	nava
night	rati	rat(h)	ratri
old	prono	pron	puranam
plough	hal	ala-	hala
receive	lay	lab-	labh
right	dashino	dachhin	dakshina
rise	uth	woth	utishtha
sand	sigel	syakh	sikta
seed	bi	byol	bijam
silver	rup	rop(h)	raupya
sing	gai	gyav-	gayanaga
smoke	dum	dh	dhuma
smooth	pichhiliko	pishul	pichhala
sweet	moro	modur	madhuram
today	acho	az	adya
tongue	jip (Hindi jibh)	zyav	jivha
tooth	don	dand	dantah
vein	nar	nar	nadi
village	girom	gam (Pkt. gamo)	gramah
weep	ro-	riv-	rodan/ruv
woman	chai	triy	stri
write	lik-	lekh	likha

yes	awa	ava	ava

3.5 The Sanskrit Factor

It will not be difficult to see from these examples selected at random by Grierson that it is not the Dardic connection that binds Kashmiri and Shina but the affiliation of both to Sanskrit or the Old Indo-Aryan upon which they draw as the basic source for their vocabulary. Many of these, as Grierson hirmself admits, have cognate forms in other Indian languages too because of the Sanskrit factor and, therefore, these do not show any exclusive linkage between Kashmiri and Shina. It can also be easily marked that phonetic systems of the two languages operate along entirely different lines. The presence of one or two Shina loan words in Kashmiri does not go to prove anything for, as T. Graham Bailey has clearly pointed out, Shina in turn, particularly in its Guresi and Tileli dialects, has been influenced considerably by Kashmiri. The fact is that Dardic languages have borrowed heavily from Urdu/Hindi and Punjabi and have some singificant morphological similarities with these North Indian languages, while with Kashmiri they have practically none.

Contrary to what is generally believed, there are wide differences between the linguistic traits of Kashmiri and Shina, too fundamental to be ignored. Proceeding one by one according to the criteria set up by Grierson himself for affiliation, let us see how tenable the arguments in support of grouping Kashmiri with Shina as a representative language of the Dardic group are. But before that let us have a look at some of the lexical and morphological similarities that link the Dardic speeches with other modern Indo-Aryan languages. These will be found to be of more than casual interest. Here are some lexical items from Shina and their corresponding Hindi equivalents.

Shina	**Hindi**	**English**
agar	angar	a live coal, cinder, spark
agut	angutha	thumb
ashatu	ashakt	powerless, helpless
ash	ashru, ansu	a tear
bago	bhag	part, portion, division
bar	var	husband
baris	baras	year
bachhari	bachhri	female calf
bish	vis (note the cerebrals)	poison
biz	khiti	fear
burizoiki	burna	to dip, be immersed
charku	charkha	a spinning wheel
chilu	chir	cloth
choritu	chor	thief

chushoiki	chusna	to suck
dugunia	dugna	double
dut	dudh	milk
eklu	akela	alone
gant (note the cerebral)	ghanta	hour
gur	gur	molasses
halizi	haldi	turmeric
hanz	hans	a swan
hiu	hiya	heart
jaru	jara-	old age
jinu	jivit, jina	alive/to live
kali	kalah-kari	querrelsome
kriye	kiri	anant
khen	kshan	an instant, glamoment
lash	ajja	shame
manuk	mendhak	a frog
manu	manushya, manav	a man
mos	mans	meat, flesh
musharu	mishra	mixed
mushtake	mushti, mutthi	fist
on	anna	grain, food
paku	pakka	ripe
pochi	poti	grand-daughter
rog	rog	disease
rong	rang	colour
sand	sand	a bull
sheur	shvasur, sasur	father-in-law

sheu	shvet	white
shing	sing, shring	horn
shish	shis	head
sioki	sina	to stitch, sew
tal	tal	bottom
teru	terha	crooked, bent
jo	jo	which, who that

These are but a few examples that should be sufficient to give an inkling of, how lexical items in both the languages are derived from a common source. The similarity extends to other features also. For instance, pronomial forms (first person-singular) in Shina closely resemble the corresponding Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi pronouns. The same is true of adverbs of place and of conjunctions, most of which appear to be borrowings from these languages. The Shina auxiliary and substantive verb-forms hanus, hanu, hane, haniek bear an amazing similarity to Hindi hun, hai, hain, honge. If that is the case, are we to conclude that Hindi too is a Dardic language?

3.6 Kashmiri and Shina: Phonetic Dissimilarities

Let us go back to the dissimilarities between Kashmiri and the Dardic languages and start from their phonetic features. Though too glaring, these have never been highlighted. Some of the important differences are as follows. (1) The peculiar Kashmiri vowel sounds ae ae: i and i: do not occur in Shina and other Dardic languages, nor does Kashmiri share with them its umlaut system or "consonantal epenthesis under influence of a following vowel". In turn Kashmiri does not follow the short, very short, long, half- long vowel system of Dardic languages. (2) Almost all nasals occurring in the old Indo-Aryan exist in Shina, including the cerebral n, Kashmiri has only n and m. (3) Dardic languages have the sibllant cerebral s, Kashmiri has not. (4) Existence of two sets of so-called palatal letters, both fricatives and stops, is a marked features of Shina, while Kashmiri like other Indo-Aryan languages has only one- the fricates sh, and z and zh do not occur in it nor does cerebral j. (5) Like most modern Indian languages the cerebral letters t, d, r and n are an intrinsic part of Shina, but Kashmiri does not have n and r., the latter being used in the rural dialect only in place of r. (6) In Shina the position of the half-vowel y is very weak and often approaches e; in Kashmiri y is strong in initial, medial and terminal positions.

There is a great divergence in the phonetic changes that words of Sanskritic stock undergo in Kashmiri and in Shina. Sanskrit s and sa almost invariably change to ha' in Kashmiri, but in Dardic languages this phenomenon seldom occurs. Some examples: Sanskrit sharad, Shina sharo, Kashmiri harud; Skt. shun Sh shun, Ksh. hun; Skt. shikasha Sh. sich, Ksh hech, Skt. shrnkhala Sh. shangal, Ksh. h:nkal; skt. shushka Sh. shuko, Ksh. hokh; Skt. vis Sh. bish Ksh. veh; Skt. shakti Sh. shat, Ksh. hekat. Initial h chances to a in Kashmiri, but is generally retained in Dardic: Skt. hasta, Ksh ath, Sh. hat; Skt. hamsa, Ksh. anz Sh. hanz; Sanskrit tr changes to cho, in Shina while in Kashmir it is generally preserved: Skt. stri Sh. chei, Ksh. triy; Skt. trini Sh che. Ksh tre; Skt. jamatr Sh. zamoch. Sanskrit dr changes to z in Shina, where as in Kashmiri the d of the compound consonant is generally preserved: Sh. heridra, Sh. halizi, Ksh. ledir, Skt. draksha zach. Ksh. dachh. Sanskrit bhr also changes to z in Shina, but not in Kashmiri: Skt. bhratr Sh. za (cf. Panjabi bhra), Ksh. boy. In Shina, as in several Indian languages, Sanskrit v becomes 'b', but in Kashmiri its position is generally strong. Skt. vish Sh. bish, Ksh. veh; Skt. vatsa Sh. batshar (c.f. Hindi bachra). Ksh. votshh. Terminal b, in Shina tends to become p and terminal d is pronounced as t in words

of Persian or Sanskrit origin; gulab > gulap, garib > garlp, jibh > jip faulad > fulat. This is rarely the case in Kashmiri.

That should be enough to blast the myth that the Kashmiri phonetic system is allied to that of Shina. The fact is that phonetically Shina has little to do with Kashmiri, though it has features that can be found in Hindi/Urdu and Punjabi. Grierson has unfortunately chosen to give selective, distorted and misleading information by taking words- from Dardic and Kafir speeches and even from the so-called Siraji and other supposed dialects of Kashmiri.

3.7 Morphological Differences

We find the same process of falsification of facts repeated when we come to morphological features. Grierson has kicked so much dust about these-accidence and syntax and so on-that it would be worthwhile to examine in brief some of the important ways in which these features differ in the two languages15:

(1) Shina has two sets of accusative-the first after transitive verbs in general and the second after verbs of striking (with hand, stick, knife etc.), the nominative having the same form as the Ist accusative.

(2) The genetive in Shina is formed by adding the suffix- ei or -ai in Kashmiri post positions. un and iny and n and ni are added to the dative for masculine and feminine, singular and plural proper nouns relating to human beings, uk and iky and ich and ichi in case of inanimate objects. For nouns other than proper names hund or sund, hindy or sindy in case of masculine singular and plural and hinz and sinz and hinzi or sinzi in case of feminine singular and plural nouns are added.

(3) Shina has a prepositional case to be used after most prepositions, Kashmiri has no prepositional case.

(4) In Shina separate suffixes -r and -zh are used to denote in and on or upon in the locative.

Examples:

(i) ai disher (in that place); hier, in (my, his, your) heart.

(ii) mecizh, generally used with azhe, as mecezh azhe, upon the table;

(iii) anu manuzezh (it ibareh nush, I have no faith in this man.

In Kashmiri locative is formed by using postpositions like andar, tal, dur, kyath, nyabar, pyath etc. with the dative case.

(5) Pronouns in Shina are mostly of the Hindi/Urdu, Panjabi type, except the nominative and agentive plural of Ist person masc. be, bes which appear to be influenced by Kashmiri. Only pronouns in the 3rd person have a feminine in singular. The most important difference is that unlike Kashmiri there are no regular indefinite and relative pronouns in Shina.

The interrogative pronoun is commonly used in their place especially in negative clauses. For example:

(i) ko, (who): ko mush, there was no one, mutu ko (someonel

(ii) jeh (what): jega nush, (nothing at all), mutu jek (something else).

(iii) kos thai buti daulat naye gub (the man who lost all your wealth), main jek daulat haniek, (whatever wealth there may be of mine).

6. In Kashmiri adjectives are declined and agree with the noun in gender, number and case. In Shina only adjectives ending in -u are declined, and these agree with the noun in gender and number only, not in case. Other adjectives are not declined and are treated as nouns.

7. There are no forms for the comparative and superlative in Shina. These are expressed by means of the preposition jo or zho, (from, than). Thus: chunu, small: mojo chunu, smaller than, but, e jo chunu: smaller than all i.e., smallest. In Kashmiri the comparative and superlative are formed by using khwoti and sariviy khwoti respectively.

8. Numerals in Shina are counted by twenties or scores, though there are words for hundred, thousand and lakh (the last two have been borrowed from Hindi/ Urdu). To form numbers beyond twenty the conjunctive particle ga is added to it. For example bi(h), twenty: biga ek, twenty and one or twenty one; bi ga dai, twenty and ten or thirty; dibyo ga che, two-twenty and three or forty three and so on. In Kashmiri cardinals are formed as in other modern Indo-Aryan languages - akavuh, twenty one; trih, thirty, tsatji, forty, teyitae:ji forty three and soon.

9. Cardinal numbers in Kashmiri are declined in agreement with their nouns. In Shina, they are declined only when used by themselves as nouns, not otherwise.

10. Ordinals in Kashmiri are formed by adding the suffix -m or -yum to the cardinal, whereas in Shina ordinals after pumuko or 'the first' are formed by adding - mono and -mone in masc. singular, and plural and -moni and -monye in fem. singular and plural respectively.

11. Like Hindi/Urdu and Panjabi, noun of agency is formed in Kashmiri by adding vol (Hindi vala) in masculine and vajyen (vali) in feminine singular. This is not the case in Dardic languages. In Shina, the auxiliary verb is used to express the idea. For instance, Ek achi hanu musha hanu, one eye is man is, a one- eyed man; shei jakur hani chei hani, white hair is woman is, a white-haired woman.

12. In Shina verbs most commonly used are thoiki (ta do) boiki (to be) and doiki (to give). Boiki and thoiki are correlative verbs used with the same nouns or adjectives to form intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. This is not the case with the corresponding verbs karun, asun and dyun in Kashmiri.

13. Pronominal suffixes are a prominent feature of Kashmiri, but they rarely occur in Dardic languages.

14. The present tense in Kashmiri is formed by the auxiIiary verb chhu and its various masculine and feminine forms. In Shina auxiliary forms hanus, hane, hanu, haniek etc. are used which bear a similarity to hun, hai, hain, honge etc. It must be stated that substantive verb forms based on the root chha occur in many Indian languages, but not in Dardic languages.

15. There is no ordinary way to express the idea of continuance in Shina. While in some cases the word hel is employed to indicate habit, the conception underlying the Kashmiri bi osus khyavan (I was eating), bi gos khyavan, (I went on eating), su rud vuchha-n, (he kept looking) etc. is not expressed in everyday speech in Shina.

Kashmiri differs from Dardic languages in numerous other ways, all of which cannot be recounted here for want of space. A few similarities there may be, but these are mainly because of the Sanskrit factor common to Indo-Aryan languages. In view of such overwhelming evidence that separates Kashmiri from the Dardic group in such important aspects as phonetics and accidence, the assertion that Kashmiri possesses nearly all the features that are peculiar to Dardic and in which Dardic agrees with Eranian" looks preposterous. It is difficult to believe, yet it is true that Grierson has gone to the extent of distorting linguistic facts and making false and misleading statments- a case of suppresso veri and suggesto falsi- in his desperate attempt to procure evidence for his pet theory. A glaring example of the tendency on his part can be seen in his suggestion that all basic Kashmiri numerals are Dardic and therefore Eranian in spite of their obvious development from the old- Indo-Aryan, or the "Pali-Sanskrit" pattern to use Siddeshwar Verma's words Similarly, it is a known fact that Kashmiri borrowed the Persian poetic forms like the Ghazal and Masnavi and the metre Bahar-e-Hajaz in the 19th century, but it is the Vakh and the Shruk that are considered to be the representative Kashmiri metres. How does this lead to the conclusion that Kashmiri metrology is basically Iranian? Fifteenth century Kashmiri works Banasur Katha and Sukh Dukh Charit have employed well-known Sanskrit metres, which have contributed primarily to the evolution of vatsun or the Kashmiri short lyric, and also some original Kashmiri metres like Thaddo and Phuro. These facts are too signiticant to be overlooked.

3.8 Kashmiri a Sanskritic Language

Just because Kashmiri is different in some ways from languages like Hindi and Gujrati, does it make linguistic sense to exclude it altogether from the Indo-Aryan family? How strong its affinities are with

this family is revealed by its basic word-stock, or, to put it in Grierson's own words, "the commonest words-the words that are retained longest in any language, however mixed, and seldom borrowed". Surely words relating to parts of the body 'physical states and conditions names of close relatives, animals and bids, edibles, minerals, objects of common use etc. can be described as such words and show that their etymology can be umistakably traced to Sanskrit.16 (For details see Appendix I).

3.9 Morphological Features

Coming to accidence or morphological features, Kashmiri reveals its Sanskritic roots no less firmly. Declensions of Kashmiri nouns show how new cases have developed from old Sanskrit bases. For instance, the instrumental in masculine singulars takes the case-ending -an which is a remanant of Skt. -ena or -ena: Ksh. tsuran, Skt. chorena. The dative suffix -as or -is is obviously the same as Pali - assa, which in turn is a derivative of Skt. -asya, though there it is used with the genetive: Ksh. tsuras, Pali chorassa, Skt. chorasya. The locative singular takes the ending -i or e: Ksh. vati, Skt. pathi; Ksh. gari, Skt. grihe. The ablative masculine singular ends in -a or -i, a remanant of Skt. -at: Ksh. tsuri, Skt. chorat For agentive masculine plurals the affix used is -av which appears to have evolved from the Vedic ebhih: Ksh. tsurav, Skt. chorebhih. In the accusative/ dative masc. pl., the case-ending -an can be traced to Skt. -anam: Ksh. tsuran, Skt. choranam: Likewise, fem. sing. nouns take the affixes -yi or -i in accusative/dative/agentive case which can be said to have been derived from the Sanskrit case-endings im, -ya, yah: Ksh. d-iviyi, Skt. deviml devya/devyah.

Like other modern Indo-Aryan languages, Kashmiri forms a new genetive by adding postpositions to the dative and agentive cases. The postpositions used are hund or sund with masculine singular and hinz or sinz with feminine singular nouns and pronouns in case of animate objects the plural forms being, hindy or sindy and hinzi or sinzi respectively Punjabi uses handa or hunda and sanda and Sindhi sanda. According to Becames, sanda is the Panjabi form of the Prakrit santah18, which becomes handa and hunda' with the s changing to h. Buhler is of the opinion that Kashrniri sund comes from Sanskrit shyunda19, which appears to be a little far-fetched. The genetive takes the postpositions un and iny also in masculine and feminine nouns denoting living things; the plural forms are iny and ni. With inanimate objects uk and ich are used in singular and iky and chi are used. These correspond to the Hindi ka, ke and ki, while in Gujrati we have no (bapno ghar- father's house). The feminine forms of the Kashmiri genetive remind one of the corresponding Marathi forms chi che etc.

Several other cases can also be formed by adding postpositions to the dative.

Kashmiri pronouns have preserved many old forms, which occur in Sanskrit but are not found in Prakrit. For example, the personal pronouns (third person) su (he) and su (she) are quite akin to Sanskrit sah and sa. and their plural forms tim (they masc.) and timi (they fem.) to Sanskrit te and tah. All other forms of this pronoun have evolved from the Sanskrit root tad. The Kashmiri first person pronoun bi or bo (I) is a remarkable new form which Buhler regards as "a representative of Skt. bhavat, originally present participle of bhu, 'to be'". All other forms of this pronoun have developed from the Sanskrit root asmad, as is the case with Punjabi and some other modern Indo-Aryan languages Ksh. asy, panj. assi. Kashmiri interrogative pronoun, kus, who, and its plural kam, as also their various forms reveal a close relationship with Skt. kah and kas. The demonstrative pronouns yi, this has its origin in the Skt. root idam while the relative pronoun yus and yim come from Skt. yah yo and ye.

Verbal forms in Kashmiri follow Sanskrit in being derived from the root of the verb, especailly in the past tense. As Buhler has pointed out, "it is impossible to explain them by Kashmiri'20. In this context Buhler cites deshun, 'to see' and dyun to give; as examples. From these we get the forms dyuth, saw', and dyut, was given', which are derived from dittho Skt. drstitah and ditto < Skt. dattah respectively. This process is visible in the formation of all basic tenses- past, present and future. Various forms of the Kashmiri auxiliary verb chhu and as, which are derived from the Skt. roots kshi, 'to be' and as, and occur in several other Indian languages too, are formed by affixing remanants of personal pronouns to the stem. The simple future tense is formed by adding the suffix -i to the nominative base in the 3rd person, a

remanant of the Sanskrit suffix -syati: Ksh. kari (-he/she will do), Skt. Karis yati, Ksh. mari (-he/she shall die), Skt. marisyati, Ksh. vegli (it will melt), Skt. vigalisyati, Kashmiri imperative verbs can hardly be distinguished from their corresponding Sanskrit forms. For example we have, Ksh. gatsh, 'go' Skt. gachcha; Ksh. Iekh, write, Skt likha; Ksh. an, bring', Skt. anaya; Ksh. dav, run Skt. dhava, Ksh. lab, find', Skt. labha(sva), Ksh. kar; do', Skt. kuru, Ksh. van, tell', Skt. varnaya and so on. It appears that most Kashmiri verbs spring from Sanskrit roots.

Verbal nouns are formed in Kashmiri by adding the suffix -un to the base, which can be easily traced to Skt. -nam or nam and is similar to the Hindi suffix -na. Examples Ksh. marun. Skt. maranam (Hindi marna; Ksh. tarun Skt. taranarn (Hindi tarana); Ksh. vavun, Skt. vapanam -(Hindi bona); Ksh. pihun, Skt. pesanarn (Hindi pisna); Ksh. pihun, Skt. pesanam (Hindi pisna); Ksh. tsihun, Skt. chusanam (Hindi chusana), Ksh. khanun, Skt. khananam (Hindi khodana Ksh. tachhun, Skt. takshanam; Ksh. thavun, Skt. sthapanam; Ksh. vuchhun, Skt. vekshanam (Panj. vekhna), Ksh. vatun. Skt. vestanam and so on.

The Kashmiri conjunctive participle -ith preserves elements of the old Sanskrit form -tva. Thus, we have Ksh. karith (-having done), Skt. Krtva, Ksh. namith (having bowed) < namitta < Skt. namitva (nutva), Ksh. gatshith having gone) < ae gachitta (-having gone") < gachhitva < ae gachhitva (gatva), likhit < Skt. likhitva, rachhit Skt. rakshitva.

Kashmiri adverbs too point to their old Indo-Aryan origins, quite transparently:

1. Adverbs of Time:

Kashmiri	**English**	**Sanskrit**
yeli	when	yarhi
teli	then	tarhi
kar	when, at what time	karhi
az	today	adya (Pkt. ajja)
rath	yesterday, yesternight	ratrih
suli	early	sakae (saka+ika)
tsiry	late	chiram
pati	afterwards	pashchat
adi	after that	ada (Vedic)
prath dohi	everyday	prati+divase
prathryati	everymonth	prati+rituh
prath vari	every year	prati+varse
gari-gari	every now and then	ghatika (Pkt. ghatia, Hindi gari ghari)
yuthuy	as soon as	yathapi
tyuthuy	at that very moment	tathapi
totany	till then	tavat

yotany	till such time until	yavat, as

2. Adverbs of Place:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
yeti	here, wherever	yatra
yetyath	at this place	
tati	there	tatra
tatyath	at that place	
ati	at that place/from that place	atra
kati	at which placet (interrogative)	kutra
yot	to this place/to whichever place	itah
tot	to that place	tatah
kot	to which place	kutah, kutra
tal	under, below	tale
manz	in, inside	madhye (Pkt. majjhe, Hindi manjh)
manzbag	in the middle	madhya+bhage
dur	far	dura
duri	from far	dure
yapari	on this side	iha+pare

3. Adverbs of Manner:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
yithi	in which manner, as in this manner	yatha
tithi	in that manner, like/that	tatha
kithi	in what manner (interrogative)	katham
yithi-tithi	somehow	yatha+tatha

Kashmiri conjunctions too show the same trend with 'ti' and, coming from Skt. tatha, 'ti', 'also' from Skt. iti'21 and beyi, and, 'more', 'again', from Pkt. 'beiya' Skt. 'dwitlya'.

3.10 Order of words

Inspite of all this massive evidence the fact that Kashmiri is an Indo-Aryan language is sought to be dismissed with the argument that the order of words in a Kashmiri sentence is not the same as in Hindi or other north Indian languages. But the order of words is not the same in any of the Dardic languages either which have a totally different syntax. Besides this is not the whole truth. True, the order of words very nearly approaches that of English in direct or coupla sentences with verb coming in between subject and object, but certain other types of Kashmiri sentences do resemble those of Hindi and even Sanskrit, as for instance, in certain types of imperative and interrogative sentences. Consider the following examples:-

(1) Imperative sentences:

Kashmiri	**English**	**Hindi**
yot yi ti bati khe	come here and eat your food	yahan a aur khana kha
humis adkas nishi beh	sit near that boy	us larke ke pas baith
yim palav chhal	wash these clothes	ye kapre dho
chay chyath gatsh	leave after taking tea	chay pikar ja
guris (pyath) khas	mount the horse	ghore par charh
vwazul posh an	get the red flower	lal phul la
kuthis manz par	Read inside the room	kamre mein parh
yitsi kathi ma kar	Don't talk so much	itni baten mat kar
tot dwad ma che	Don't take hot milk	garam dudh mat pi
nyabar ma ner	Don't go out	Bahar mat nikal
gyavun ma gyav	Don't sing a song	gana mat ga
vuni ma shong	Don't sleep yet	abhi mat so

Some of the simpler imperatives can hardly be distinguished from Sanskrit:

Kashmiri	**English**	**Sanskrit**
ati ma par	Don't read there	atra ma patha
gari ma gatsh	Don't go home	ghriham ma gachchha
az ma lekh	Don't write today	adya ma likha
krud ma kar	Don't be angry	krodham ma kuru

(2) Interrogative sentences:

Kashmiri	**English**	**Hindi**
tse kya gatshi?	What do you want?	tumhe kya chahiye?
su kot gav?	Where di he go?	voh kahan gaya?
yot kar-ikh?	When will you come here?	yahan kab aoge?
chany kur kati chhe?	Where is your daughter?	tumhari beti kahan hai?
yi kamysund gari chhu?	Whose house is this?	yeh kiska ghar hai?
bati kus kheyi?	Who will take food?	khana kaun khayega?

In subordinate or relative clauses the verb generally come last as in Hindi:

Kashmiri	**English**	**Hindi**
su ladki yus yeti rozan os kot gav?	Where has the boy who lived here gone?	voh larka jo yahan rahta tha kahan gaya?
su hun yus tse onuth tsol rath	The dog which you brought, ran away yesterday	voh kutta jo tumne laya tha, kal bhag gaya
yosi kath taemy vaeneyi so drayi paez	What he had said came out to be true	jo bat usne kahi thi voh sach nikali
yosi kath gaeyi, so gaeyi	what is past is past	jo bat gayi so gayi

This is not to suggest that Kashmiri agrees with Sanskrit in every respect. As a language it has its own peculiarities and distinguishing features. But its basic word-stock does come from Sanskrit, or old Indo-Aryan, and its grammatical forms too have without doubt, developed from it to a considerable extent. True that a great number of Persian and Arabic lexical items have found their way into Kashmiri after the advent of Islam and have become a part of its vocabulary. These, however, are later day additions made much after Kashmiri had evolved as a distinct language.

3.11 Written Evidence: Kashmiri and MIA

Though it is not possible to say at what point of time exactly did Kashmiri start taking shape as a distinct language, much of its early literary output having been lost, there is enough written evidence available to help one outline its gradual development fromthe MIA stages of Prakrit and Apabhramsha through which other modern Indo-Aryan languages have passed. Anyone who cares to study its earliest extant record, that exists in the form of the Chhumma Sampraday verses, Mahanay Prakash, Banasur katha and 'Sukha-dukha Charit' will be able to see clearly the continuity of linguistic development that runs through these works. While Chumma Sampraday can be assigned to 11th or 12th century, Mahanay Prakash written by Shitikantha can be rated to the 13th century, both being treatises of esoteric Tantric sects. Then we have the verses of Lalleshwari and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, celebrated saint-poets who lived in the 14th century, but these have been passed down for centuries in oral tradition and thier language cannot be said to be the same in which they were originally composed. The sentence 'Rangassa Helu dinna' (the village of Helu was given to Ranga) occuring in the 12th century work Kalhana's Rajataringini is also a curious piece of of linguistic evidence. Though Shitikantha's 'Mahanay Prakash' and Avtar Bhatta's Banasur Katha are separated in time by about two centuries, these works share many a linguistic feature.

Shitikantha claims to have written his work in the local dialect "inteligible to all people'- "sarvagochardeshabhasa", and Avtar Bhatta too has used the term "deshy" to describe the language he wrote in. The term has been used by Prakrit grammarians to denote local or provincial dialects, as pointed out by Dr. Tagare. Prakrit works by Jain writers are replete with references to eighteen such dialectsor "attharas bhasa", of which Kashmiri must have been one.

Features of early Kashmiri that appear in Chumma Sampraday in a nascent form become more developed and distinct in Mahanay Prakash, which displays a definite tendency of Prakritization. Banasur Katha, on the other hand, is a record of that state of Kashmiri when the language had just emerged from the Prakrit-Apabhramsha egg-shell. The language of Sukha-dukha Charit is relatively closer to modern Kashmiri while sharing most of the characteristics of Banasur Katha. Being a record of the Kashmiri language as it was spoken in the 15th century, the last two works shed useful light on its medieval development and are greatly helpful in tracing earlier forms of a good number of Kashmiri words. For instance, various forms of the auxiliary verb chhu occur as ksho, kshi, kshem, kshoh, kshiyiy etc, suggestirg that these have originated from the Sanskrit root kshi, meaning 'to be'. Similarly we find the original sh retained in words like shiki, shit; shiton of which the corresponding modern forms are heki, kyath, 'hyotun', Skt. sh generally changing to h in Kashmiri. Shot is another word of this kind, its modern form being hot, 'throat' This is precisely what we find in the Poguli dialect which even today preserves the original sibliant. 'Dittho' (modern Ksh. dyuth) Skt. drishtwa and ditto (mod, Ksh. dyut) < Skt. dattah are among the many intermediary forms of modern Kashmiri words that occur in Banasur Katha.

Most of the phonetical changes one comes across in Mahanay Prakash (M.P), Banasur Katha (B.K) and Sukha-dukha Charit (COC) take place much the same way as they do in Prakrit and Apabhramsha. Many of these changes have crystallized to form words which are used in present-day Kashmiri. For instance, of elision of independent consonants ch, t d and p, there are many examples in these works, the elided consonant being replaced by a glide, y or v: vachan>vayan, lochan>loyan, gatah> gav vady>vay, avaptam>vato, sthapayitva>thavet. In modern Kashmiri too, excepting the elision of ch in vachan and loyan, we have several examples of this as gav, vay, vot and thevith. In Apabhramsha Skt. r changes to a, i and u. In M.P, B.K. and S.D.C., r>i and a: prithvi>pithiv (M.P), Pithvu (B.K); prakriti > pakiti (M.P), pakit (B.K), trn > tin, mrtyu>mitya, drdha>dado (B.K), drstva>dittho, nrtya>nats etc. In modern Kashmiri this tendency can be seen in words like dor< dridha, nats. It will be interesting to note that a good number of grammatical and lexical items are quite similar in B.K., S.D.C. and modern Kashmiri, the apparent phonetlc differenes being mostly due to orthographical limitaticns. Another feature that needs to be noted is that several wcrds occuring in B.K. and S.D.C. are found in Hindi and some other north Indian languages but not in present day Kashmiri. For instance we have: jalo (Hindi jala) pado (Hindi para), chados, chadet (Hindi charha, charhe), piya (Hindi piya), guade (Hindi ghore; modern/standard Kashmiri gur, rural Kashrniri gur). In B.K., the word eshen occurs at one place having beeing been used in the sense of 'they came'. Cursiously, this appears to be a Bengali word, the mod. Kashmiri word being ayi (Hindi aye). These do not appear to be loan words. Their occurrence in 15th century Kashmiri lends further support to the view that the lines of development of Kashmiri and other modern Indo-Aryan languages must have been similar in the initial phases.

Yet another linguistically singificant trait is that in B.K. as well as S.D.C., both 15th century works, several words occur in more than one form. For instance, we have tav and tam, kshyo and chho, ko and kus i and yi. One of these forms appears to be older and unstable whereas the other is relatively new. This shows that the language at that time was more or less in a state of flux and word forms had not yet crystalised. Interestingly enough there are words in contemporary speech also which exist in more than one form. One such word is navid, barber, which is derived from Skt. napita and occurs in the form of nayid (Hindi nai) also, the two forrns denoting two different stages of development: napita>navid, nayid. This makes Kashmiri an interesting subject for study in the Indian linguistic context.

3.12 Metrics

These early Kashmiri texts also shed singificant light on Kashmiri metrics. While in Chumma Sampraday and Maharlay Prakash the metre used approaches Vakh and Shruk(J)' derived probably from Sanskrit Shloka or Prakrit Gaha metres, in Banasur Katha Sanskrit metres like Vasantatilakam. Mandakranta, Narkataka, Sriagdkara have been used straightaway together with what appear to be original Kashmiri meitres like Thaddo, Phuro and Dukatika. We find the author of Sukha-dukha Charit also using these very Sanskrit and indigenous metres and that is the last we see of them.

The above study, based on written evidence of the state of Kashmiri language as it was used from the 11th to late 15th century, should be enough to indicate the broad lines of its development in the light of the phonetic changes that can be seen to have taken place during this period. It should surely make it easier for us to go back in time and note for ourselves that this process has been hardly different from the one that has led to the development of other Aryan languages of India. For those who care for facts, this is something that is quite valuable for ascertaining and relocating the position of Kashmiri in the Indian linguistic context. One thing is certain, the roots of Kashmiri do not lie hidden somewhere in the Dardic soil, but can now, more clearly than ever before, be traced to a land that formed a part of the Vedic world. Surely, there is a wide area that has still to be explored, but the direction of this exploration is no longer hazy or uncertain.

APPENDIX I

Kashmiri	**English**	**Sanskrit/Prakrit**
val	hair	vala
kali	head	kapalah
buth, mkh	face	mukh
shondi (archaic)	shunda	
aes	mouth	asya
dyak	forehead	Pkt. dhika (Guj-daka-throat; doku-head)
gal	cheek	galla
aechh	eye	akshi
nas/nast	nose	nasa/nast
vuth	lip	oshtha
dand	teeth	danta
bum	eyebrow	bhru
kan	ear	karna

zyav	tongue	jivha
tal	palate	talu
hongany	chin	hanu
vachh	chest	vaksha
katsh	armpit	kakshah (Hindi kankh)
yad	belly	Pkt. Dhidh (Panj. tid)
mandal	buttocks	mand, alah
naf	navel	nabhi
athi	hand	hastah
khonivath	elbow	kaphoni+vatah (c.f. Hindi kohni)
ongij	finger	anguli
nyoth	thumb	angustha (c.f. Sh. aguto)
zang	leg	jangha
khwar	feet	khurah / kshurah (-a cloven hoof- Note the change in meaning)
pad	feet	pada
tali-pod	sole of a foot	padatala
nam	nails	nakham
tsam	skin	charma
rath	blood	rakta
aedij	bone	adda
daer	beard	danstrika

naer	vein, artery, blood vessel	nadika
maz	flesh	mamsah
aendram	intestines	antram
bwakivaet	kidney	vrikka+vatah (c.f. Hindi bukka)
rum		hair of the body roma
nal	tibia	nalah, nalam (Pkt nalo)
ryadi	heart	hrday

And here are some words relating to various physical states and conditions:

Kashmiri	**English**	**Sanskrit**
zuv	life	jiva
zyon	to take birth	Vedic jayate
asun	to laugh	hasam
rivun	to weep	rodana
mandachh	shyness	manda+akshi
volisun	to feel joy, alacrity	ullasah
bwachhi	hunger	bubhuksha (c.f. Hindi 'bukh')
shwangun	to sleep	shayanam

nendir	sleep	nidra
tresh	thirst	trsa

As for names of close relatives are concerned Kashmiri 'mol' (father) and 'maej' (mother) are said to be of Dardic origin. 'Mol' is, however, derived from Skt. 'mahal', meaning 'the great one'. Other words are clearly of Sanskrit origin.

Kashmiri	**English**	**Sanskrit**
pot(h)ur	son	putrah
gobur	garbharupah	
kur	daughter	kumari/kaumari (Pkt. kunwari, Kauri, Panj. kudi, Kaur)
boy	brother	bhrataka (Hindi: bhai)
beni	sister	bhagini
petir	uncle (father's brother)	pitravya (Guj.pirai pitrayun)
mas	aunt (mother's sister)	matushvasa (Pkt. Mausi, Hindi mausi, masi)
pwaph	aunt (father's sister)	pitushvasa (Hindi phuphi)
mam	maternal uncle	mamakah (Hindi mama)
mamany	wife of maternal uncle	mamika
nwash	daughter-in-law	snusa (Panj. nuh)
zamtur	son-in-law	jamatr (Pali jamatar, Hindi jamai)
hyuhur	father-in-law	shvasur (note the change of 'sh' to 'h')
bemi	brother-in-law (sister's husband)	bhama
zam	sister-in-law (husband's sister)	jama (Pk. jami)
zaemi	sister-in-law's husband	jamipati
zaemizi	sister-in-law's daughter	jameya
benthir	sister's son (wife's sister)	bhagniputra syali
run	husband	ramanah (Pkt. ramano ravannu) ranu, ravan (dialect)

vyas	female friend	vayasi
methir	friend	mitrah
shaethir	foe	shatruh

Common animals, birds and even worms and insects have names which are derived from Sanskrit. Examples:

Kashmiri	**English**	**Sanskrit**
sih	a lion, tiger	simha (Pkt. siha)
hos (t)	an elephant	hasti
shal	a jackal	shrigalah (Pkt. siala)
sor	a pig	shukarah
gav	a cow	gau (gava)
votsh	a calf	vatsah
hun	a dog	shvanah, shun
vandur	a monkey	vanarah
gur (rural dialect gud)	a horse	ghotakah
bachheri	a colt	vats+ika+ra
tshavul	a he-goat	chhagalah
haput	a bear	shvapadah
vunth	a camel	ustrah
hangul	a stag	shrgalah
maesh	a buffalo	mahisah
nul	mongoose	nakulah
kaechhavi	a tortoise, a turtle	kachhapah
krim	a tortoise, a turtle	kurmah
vodur	a weasel	udrah
sarup(h)	a snake	sarpah
tsaer	a sparrow	chatkah (Hindi chiriya)

kav	a crow	kakah
kukil	a cuckoo	kokil
kwakur	a rooster, cock	kukkutah
aenz	a swan	hamsah
har	starling, mynah	shari
kakuv	the muddy goose	chakravakah
grad	a vulture	grdrah
brag	a heron	bakah
titur	a patridge	tittirah
byuch	a scorpion	vrschikah
maech	a housefly	makshika
kyom	a worm	krmi
pyush	a flea	plushi (Hindi pissu)
bumaesin	earthworm	bhumisnu

Words for Colours:

Kashmiri	**English**	**Sanskrit**
chhot	white, bleached	shvet
kruhun	black	krisnah (cf. Hindi kanha)
shyam	black	shyamah
nyul	blue	nilah
lyodur	yellow	haridra
vwazul	red	ujjvalah
katsur	brown	karchurah
gurut	fair	gaura

Names of days of the week:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
athvar	Sunday	adityavarah (Hindi itvar, Sh. adit)
tsandrivar	Monday	chandravarah
bomvar	Tuesday	bhaumavarah
bodvar	Wednesday	budhavarah
brasvar	Thursday	brhaspativarah
shokrivar	Friday	shukravarah
batavar	Saturday	bhattarakavarah

Names of edibles:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
nun	salt	lavanam
til	oil	tailam
tomul	rice	tandulam
danyi	paddy	dhanyam
kinikh	wheat	kanikah
bati	cooked rice	bhaktam
dwad	milk	dugdham (Hindi dudh)
gyav	ghee	ghrtarn
pony	water	pamyam
hakh	pot-herb	shakam
vangun	brinjal, egg-plant	vangan
oluv	potatoe	alukah
muj	radish	mulika
gazir	carrot	garjaram (Pkt. gajjaram)
palak(h)	spinach	palankah
ruhun	garlic	lashunam
mithy	fenugreek	methika

kareli	bittergourd	karvellakah
al	the bottle-gourd	alabu
hyambi	beans	shimbi (c.f. Hindi chhimi)
nyom	lime, lemon	nimbukah
kel	bannana	kadali (Pkt. kelao, Hindi kela)
amb	mangoe	amram (Pkt. ambam)
aeen	pomegranate	dadim
dachh	grapes	draksha
tang	pear	tanka
khazir	datepalm	kharjurah (Pkt. khajjuro)
narjil	coconut	narikelah
ael	cardamom	aila
tel	sesamum seed	tila
rong	clove	lavang
marits	black pepper	maricha
martsivangun	chilli	maricha+vangana
mong	a species of pulse	mudgah (Pkt. muggo)
chani	gram, chick-pea	chanakah
mah	a bean	masha
muth	a kind of pulse, vetch	mayasthah, makushthah
makey	corn, maize	markaka (Pkt. makka+ika)
machh	honey	maksha
khyatsir	a dish of rice and split pulse	krsharah (Hindi khichari)
ras	juice, gravy	rasah
layi	parched grain	laja
shakkar	unrefined sugar	sharkara
shonth	dried ginger	shunthi

zyur	cumin seed	jirakah
yangi	asfoetida	hingu
gor	molasses	gudah (Hindi gur)
rot	a sweet cake offered to a god	rotah

Names of the minerals also show the same tendency:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
swan	gold	swarna (Hindi sona)
rwap(h)	silver	raupya
tram	copper	tamra
shastir	iron	shastrakah
parud	mercury	pardah
kenz	brass, bellmetal	kansya

Names of objects of common use are mostly of Sanskrit derivation:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
kapur	cloth	kalpatah (Pkt. kappado, Hindi kapra)
pot	woollen cloth	patah
sitsan	needle	suchika
raz	rope	rajju
sithir	cotton thread	sutrah
trakir	balance	tarkari
parmani	weights	parimana
prang/palang	couch	paryankah
bani	utensils	bhajana (Pkt. bhayana, Guj. bhanun, bhanen, Sindh banu)
vokhul	mortar	ulukhalah
kazul	collyrium	kajjalam
kath	wood	kastham
kammal	blanket	kambalam (Pkt. kammal)

mokhti	pearls	mukta
nav	boat	nava (Vedic)
dungi	a canoe, a large boat	drona+kah (c.f. Hindi donga)
shup	winnower	shurpa
baehaets	a large boat	vahitra, vohittha (c.f. Hindi bohit)
thal	a large plate of metal	sthalam (c.f. Hindi thal)
gasi	grass	ghasam (Hindi ghas)
kangir	a portable fire-pot, brazier	kastha+angari+ka, ka+angari+ka
dand	a staff	dandam
zal	a net	jalam
baji	a musical instrument	vadya+kah (Hindi baja)
vaejy	a ring	valaya
kofur	camphor	karpuram
gadvi	a water vessel	gadukah
sranipath	a loincloth	snanapattam
ganti	bell	ghanta
sendir	vermilion	sindurah
kapas	cotton	karpasam (Pkt. kappasam)
toh	chaff	tusa
turi	claironet	turya
bin	lute	vina (Hindi bin)

vaenk	braid	venika
vag	bridle	valga (Hindi bag)
baety	wick	vartika
kangany	comb	kankatika
mal	garland necklace	mala
bungir	bangle, bracelet	vank+diminutive affix ri (c.f. Hindi bangri, bangri; Marathi bangrya)
pulihor	a shoe of grass or straw	pula+kah (Hindi pula)

Names of different seasons are peculiarly Sanskritic:

Name of the season	Kashmiri	Sanskrit
spring	sont(h)	vasanta
summer	grishim	gris, ma
rainy season	vaehrat	varsa+ rituh (Hindi 'barsat')
autumn	harud	sharad
winter	vandi	varsant

Etymology of words relating to physical, natural and environmental phenomena is quite interesting:

Kashmiri	English	Sanskrit
siri (Muslim Kashmiri 'akhtab')	sun	suryah

tsaendir, tsaendram	moon	chandra, chandra+mas (Hindi 'chandrama')
tarak(h)	stars	tarakah
nab	sky	nabhah
samsar	the universe, world	samsarah
thal	land	sthalah
vav	air	vayuh
tap(h)	sunlight	atapah
gash/pragash	light	prakash
anigati	darkness	andha-ghata
obur	cloud	abhra
vuzimali	lightening	vidyut+mala
gagiray	rumbling, thunder	gargara
saedir	sea, ocean	samudrah
sar	lake	sarah
kval	stream	kulya
van	forest	van
sangar	shrnga	mountain
sangarmal	shrnga+mala	peaks
bunyul	earthquake	bhu+chala (Hindi bhuchal)

Kashmiri numerals

Of particular interest in this context are Kashmiri numerals, cardinals as well as ordinals, which are amazingly Indo-Aryan, retaining old Sanskritic elements as hardly any other modern Indo-Aryan language does. In the Dardic languages Sanskrit sh does not change to h though in Prakrit/Kashmiri has a full fledged numeral system which by no stretch of imagination can be said to have any links with Dardic where counting is done in twenties. Siddheshwar Verma has very clearly shown that Kashmiri follows the Sanskrit-Pali pattern in its numerals[17]. Let us consider a few examples. Kashmiri is the only modern Indo- Aryan language that retains the Sanskrit dvi in the form of du) in numerals that come after ten (barring twelve). Thus we have, duhaeth (Skt. dva-shasthi, Pali dvasatthi, Pkt. basatthi); dusatath (Skt. dvisaptati, Pali dvasattati), dunamath (Skt dvanavati). In all other Indo-Aryan languages including Prakrit, d>b, as in Hindi basath, bahattar, banave. In the same way Kashmiri shunamath retains the sh of Sanskrit sannavati, whereas in other Indo- Aryan languages sh>chh, Hindi chhiyanave, Bengali chhevanabbe,

Sindhi chhanave etc. Again, Kashmiri "satath" is closer to the Sanskrit-Pali pattern and not to Prakrit in which the terminal t of saptati changes to r:Prakrit sattari', Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi sattar, Sindhi satari.

It is amazing that Kashmir deh (Muslim Kashrnir dah) and hath derived from Sanskrit dash and shat respectively, with sh and some other Indian languages like Marathi it does: (Skt. dashamukha Pkt. dahamuho; Marathi daha- ten) In the Dardic, and even Kafir languages, sh is generally retained. Thus we have: Kalash dash, Gwarbati dash, Garwi dash. Torwali dash, Shina dai, Maiya dash. In Kashmiri shat (h) as well hath are used for hundred hath for numbers below seven hundred and shat for numbers above it. But in Dardic languages sh is generally retained or changed to s as in Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages: Kalash shor, Garwi 'So, Torwali 'So, Maiya shal, Shina shal.

The following table will make the position of Kashmiri numerals more clear:

Numeral	**Kashmiri**	**Sanskrit**
one	akh	ekah
two	zi	dvi
three	tre	tri
four	tsor	chatur
five	pantsh	pancha
six	she	sastha
seven	sat(h)	sapta
eight	aeth	asta
nine	nnv	nava
ten	daeh	dash
twenty	vuh	vimsha
thirty	trih	trimsha
forty	tsatiji(h)	chaturvimshata
fifty	pantsah	panchashata
sixty	sheth	shastih
seventy	satat(h)	saptatih
eighty	shith	ashitih
ninety	namath	navatih
hundred	hath/shath	shata
thousand	sas	sahasra

lakh	lachh	laksha
crore	karor	kotih

APPENDIX II

Some Examples of Conjunction

(1) k+t > tt: shakti > shatta, bhakti > bhatta, rakta > ratta; Mod. Kaihmiri: rakta 'rath', 'bhakta (-rice) > bati, saktum > (parched rice) > sot.
(2) p+t tt/t: sapta > satta, avaptam > vato. Mod. ksh.: sapta > sath, avaptam > vot, tapta > tot.
(3) t+y ch: nrtya- > nachha - Mod. Ksh nrtya > nats, atyeti > Pkt. achei > Ksh. ats
(4) d+y jj: adya > ajja, vadyanti vajjan, Mod. Ksh: adya > az, vadyanti vazan.
(5) g+dh > dh: dagdha > dadho, dadhos. Mod. Ksh. dagdha > dod, dodus.
(6) dh+y > jj: madhya > majj (Pkt. majh, Hindi manjh); budhyate > bujje (Pali bujjhati, Pkt. bujjhai). Mod. Ksh: Madhya > manz, budhyate > bozi.
(7) h+v > jj: dahyati > dajji Mod. Ksh: dahyati > dazi
(8) d+v > b: dwitiva > Pkt. belya, bhiya, Mod. Ksh. beyi, dwadash > bah (Hindi barah) dwar > bar (Punjabi bari)
(9) g+n > gg: lagnah > laggo Mod. Ksh. lagnah > lagun, log
(10) g+n > nn: naghah > nanno Mod. Ksh. nagnah > non
(11) t+m > p: atman > pan (Pkt. appa, Hindi ap, Sindhi, pan, u)

In conjuncts with sibliants, the sibliant generally elides:

(1) s+t > th, tth: stana > than, hastat > attha Mod. Ksh: stana > than, stabmbh > tham, hasta > athi
(2) s+th > th: sthal > thal (Pali thal', Pkt. 'thal', Punj. 'thal' Assamese 'thal', Guj, 'thal', Marathi 'thal', Hindi 'thal' Skt. stha piyitva > thavet, sthan > than, Mod. Ksh: 'sthal' > thal, sthapanam > thavun, sthal > thal.
(3) s+ph > ph: 'sphotayah > photiy; Mod. Ksh: 'sphotyati' > phuti
(4) s+m > s: 'smar' > sar, saret (Pali 'sar' -, Pkt. 'sar'-, Mod. Ksh: 'smar' > sar
(5) sh+t/th > ttha: drstva dittho (Pali dittha, Pkt. datt,ha, dittha, Guj. Dithun, Awadhi: ditha), pristha > pittha, nistha > nittha, upavista > bittha; Mod. Ksh: dristwa dyut,h; prishtha > pyath, pith; kostha > kuth; oshtha > wuth; asta > ae: th kashtha > kath (Hindi kath) musti > mvath pusta > puth, jyestha > zyuth (Hindi jetha), bhrasta breth; upavista > byuth.

Another point of similarity between phonology of M.P., B.K. S.D.C. and Prakrit-Pali-Apabhramsha is elision of 'r' in r'-conjunction. The present writer was pleasantly surprised to come acorss the word 'piya' (-beloved) in one of the most beautiful songs of Banasur Katha-piya ma gatsh marnay.

(1) k+r > k. krodhe > kodhe, krur > kur, Mod. Ksh: krur > kur
(2) k+k > kk: chakra > chakka, shakra > shakka; Mod. Ksh: chukra > tsok, nakrashira > Pkt. nakkasira- > Mod. Ksh. naser
(3) t+r > t: > tatra tatte, tati; yatra > yatti, yati; atra > ati, trasen > trase, tri- > ti. Mod. Ksh. tatra > tati; yatra > yeti, atra > ati, ratri > rath, kutra > kati
(4) r+n/n, > n (n): varna > vanna; suvarna > suvanna, varnaya > vanno, (a) karne > akannet. Mod. Ksh.: karna > kan, swarna > swan, parna > pan, churna > tsin,
(5) r+m > mm; m; karma > kamma, marma > mamma charma > chamma Mod. Ksh: karma > k aem, charma > tsam
(6) r+p > pp: darpa > dappa; arpit > appu; Mod. Ksh: shurpa > shup; karpasa > kayas
(7) r+h > ll, 1: yarhi > yille, tarhi > tille, Mod. Ksh: yarhi > yeli, tarhi > teli

When 'r' is the second member of a conjunct, however, it does not elide, but is retained with a vocalic release:

(1) Agre > agari, agra; abhrat > abhra; sahasra > sass; nirgatah > niret, niri, nirim; sparsa > parshet, Mod. Ksh: abhra > obur, sahasra > sas, nirgatah > ner; sparsha > phash (Pkt. phassa)

The consonant 'r' is, however, generally retained in modern Kashmiri in initial, medial or final positions. The doubled consonants formed as a result of its elision have been simplied in course of further development of the language in case of words where it has been elided. There is no compensatory elongation of the vowel in Kashmiri for the words so formed, as usually happens in Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages. Thus karna > kan and not kan (as in Hindi), swarna > swan and not sona.

The joint letter ksh changes mostly to chh or chchh, but in some cases it changes to kh as happens in Mod. Ksh. too.

Here are same examples:

(1) Ksh > chchh/chh: kshut. > chchot; akshi > achchi Mod. Ksh: kshut > tshot, akshi > achh, mandakshi > mandachh, bubhuksha > bochhi, laksha > lachh, vaksha > vachh, raksha > rachh, paksha > pachh, kaksha > kachh, taksha > tachh, yaksha > yachh, draksha > dachh, maksha > machh, kshalava > chhal, shiksha > hechh, veksha > vuchh (Punj. vekh)
(2) ksh > kkh/kh: tikshna > tikkho Mod. Ksh: Lakshmi > lakhymi, sukshma > sikhim, paksha > (-wing) > pakh, kshama > khyama

The sibliants 'sh', 's' (cerebral 'sh') and 's' generally change to 'h' in Kashmiri though there are several exceptions.

(1) sh/s > h: dasha > daeh, ekadasha > kah, chaturdasha > chuddah, nashan > nahen Mod. Ksh: dasha > clah, ekadasha > kah, chaturdasha > tsodah, nashan > nahvun, sharad > harud, shat > hath, shuska > hokh, krisna > kruhun, chusana > tsihun, pesanam > pihun, vestana > vatun, visam > veh, tus > toh, manusya > mohnyuv, upavisha > beh; shun/shwan > hun; shari > haer, mashkah > moh.
(2) sh/s remains unchanged: shobha > shub, maihisa mash, shurpa > shup, pusa/puspa > posh, asha > ash, tris. > tresh, mris. mash-, lesha > lish, prakash > gash.
Initial 'h' changes to 'a' in Kashmiri. There are only a few examples of this in M.P. B.K. aild S.D.C.: hastat > attha, hasti > asis
Mod. Ksh: hasta > athi, hasan > asun, ha,dda > adda

Vowel changes occur in modern Kashmiri almost along the same lines as in M.P. B.K. and S.D.C. Examples of some of these are given below:-

(1) a > a: sahara > sass, saphal > saphul, nibhrit > nibhara, rakshaka > rakshe, sahit > sate, priya > piya, nashya > nah. Mod. Ksh: sahasra > sas, raksha > rachh-,. nashya- > nah;
(2) a > u: Medial 'a' often changes to 'u' in Kashmiri nominative singular. This tendency is equally strong in M.P., B.K. and S.D.C.
Examples: Janaka > januk, anal > anul, varsana > varshun, tapodhana > tapodhun, sanrakshaka > sanrakshuk, Narad > Narud, Madhava > Madhuv. Mod. Ksh.: balak > baluk, varsan, a > varshun, rakshaka > rakhyuk, takshaka > takhyuk, Narada > Narud, sarpah > sarup, bhramrah > bombur
(3) a > a: Like Maharashtri, Jain Maharashtri, Ardha- Magdhi Prakrits and Apabhramshas, a > a in fem. nom. sing. in M.P., B.K., and S.D.C. Modern Kashmiri also exhibits this tendency. Examples: Puja > puj, katha > kath, bala > bal, Usha (proper name) > Ush, mata > mat Mod. Ksh.: Puja > puz, katha > kath, bala > bal, Usa (proper name) > Ushi, mala > mal, sthala > thal
(4) i > a: narpati > narpat, dinapati > dinapat, nayika > nayak, rishi > rish, rashi > rash, rashmi > rashm, buddhi > buddh, shakti > shatta, bhakti > bhatta, agni > agna. Mod. Ksh.: rsi > ryosh, ganapati > ganapat, rashi > rash, budcdhi > bwadh, gati > gath, prati > prath.
(5) i > u: jiva > juv (Sindhi jiu, Panj, jiu, Kumanoni jyu, ziu, Bengali jiu, Marathi jiu, Hindi jiu) Mod. Ksh.: zuv
(6) u > a: tribhuvan > tibhavan, Shambhu > Shambh, ashru > asra, kutah > katto, asur > asar, shatru > shatra, Visnu > vi,sn,a.
Mod. Ksh.: ashru > osh, kutah > kati, shatru > shathir Vishnu > veshin

APPENDIX III

Abbreviations

Skt.	**Sanskrit**
Pkt.	Prakrit
Ksh.	Kashmiri
Mod.Ksh.	Modern Kashmiri
IA	Indo-Aryan
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
MIA	Mid Indo-Aryan
Panj.	Panjabi
Guj.	Gujrati
M.P.	Mahanay Prakash
B.K.	Banasur Katha
S.D.C.	Sukha-Dukha Charit

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Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh - Linguistic Predicament
Edited by: P. N. Pushp and K. Warikoo
Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation
Har-Anand Publications

4 Devnagari Script for Kashmiri

A Study in its Necessity, Feasibility and Practicality

Dr. R. L. Shant

4.1 Kashmiri Language and Scripts Used

4.1.1 Background

Kashmiri is an Indo-Aryan language. Even the opponents of this linguistic classification of this language, grouped it with Dardi, Shrinya, Khowar dialects, which are spoken in the areas adjacent to the valley in its north and north- west. Language historians and linguists have often, however, concurred on the theory that the above-mentioned dialects fall in the category of languages that bear resemblance to the Indo-Aryan as well as to the Indo-Iranian languages.

Philologists believe that like the earliest Naga inhabitants of the mountains of Kashmir having been cut off from the mainstream Aryans like their counterparts (viz. the Ghandarvas, the Yakshas, the Kinnaras etc.), their language took time to accept influences and merge with the main Aryan languages. The Naga language developed of its own and underwent changes natural to any language. All the same it maintained its peculiar vowel system and when it surfaced in the 8th-9th century AD, it had passed through all the stages of the Prakrits and Apabhramshas like other modern Indian languages, the earliest available evidence of the Kashmiri language belongs to this period.

4.1.2 Sharada script and the Kashmiri Pandits

The earliest available Kashmiri scripts (MSS) are written in the Sharada script, Sharada is an indigenous writing system that evolved from the original Brahmi in the same chronological order and around the same time as the Nagari, Gurumukhi and other North Indian scripts did. This script was widely used by scholars, rulers, common people of all religious denominations (including the Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists alike). Among Hindus it was used for transcribing Sanskrit texts as well as compositions in Kashmiri. MSS of the compositions of Kashmiri poets, Lal Dyad, Nund Reshi, Roopa Bhawani and a host of other Bhakti poets was in Sharada and are preserved in individual collections and libraries till date. (Many have definitely been destroyed by the militants or other anti-social elements during the last six years of Kashmiri Pandits' forced exodus, when they left their treasures of books behind.) With the valley going Muslim over the last six centuries, the Persian script imported by Muslim rulers both local and foreign, replaced the Sharada in official and private use. The shrinking number of Kashmiri Hindus (those who care to be called Pandits, for their Brahmanic connections alone survived, the rest having been converted), nevertheless mastered Persian (and Arabic) languages and script and used it widely in official and private communication. This relegated Sharada to the background, being limited to religious and devotional texts. For the practicing Brahmins, Sharada continued to be the script for writing and calculating astrological and ritual formulations. Today this group (now depleting fast) alone preserves it religiously. For the rest learning the script or using it is of no practical utility.

4.1.3 Persian and Roman Scripts

As Persian gained status in the Muslim courts followed by English/Dogra Durbar, KP officials (the clerk, mudarris, revenue official, the serf or the landlord) did not lag behind anyone. They mastered the Roman script and the English language too, with exemplary wisdom. One can say without fear of contradiction that KP functionaries must have played a pivotal role in moulding the Persian script to suit Kashmiri language in a similar manner as they adopted the Roman script for Kashmiri texts in the fourth and fifth decades of twentieth century.

4.2 Nagari and the Intercultural Connection

The history of the adoption and modification of the Nagari script for Kashmiri has not been documented authentically. But the very fact that the script was used freely by eminent western linguists like Grierson and Temple in their profound works and treatises on Kashmiri language and literature is ample proof of its having been standardized over the decades in the 19th century. Kashmiri Pandits maintained live contact with the North-Indian cultural epicenter, i.e. the Indo-Gangetic plains, which incidentally is the Hindi heartland too. Devanagari had assumed prime importance in the areas of inter- cultural and inter-lingual communication in north-western and eastern Indian states. This universally acceptable writing system came handy to the intelligent and descerning community of Kashmiri Pandits, for whom the Indian connection has always been primary. Benefiting from the experience of this enlightened community, the western research scholars like Grierson, Buhlar, Temple, Stein etc. associated renowned scholars of their time like Mukund Ram Shastri and Ishwar Koul with their work and modified the Devanagari of Kashmiri, as against the Persian script, even though the latter had a wider appeal and acceptability. The qualities of better phonetic representation inherent in the Nagari seems to have weighed more with these discerning scholars.

4.3 The Imperfect Persian Script

Urdu became the official and court language in the Dogra rule and this strengthened the Persio-Arabic base for Kashmiri script. The Nagari-knowing sections did not stay away in isolation. They studied the method used by the Persian knowing scholars and found them incomplete and imperfect. In fact no organized attempt to use some diacritical mark in the Persian script was made. Only the HAMZA mark was placed arbitrarily over the letters, without following a uniform pattern. It betrayed the cavalier attitude of the concerned writers on the one hand and showed the popularity of the script on the other, that made diacritical mark redundant. The readers read the text by making their own guess.

4.4 The Modified 'Nagari Kashmiri'

During the first decades of the 20th century, KPs using Nagari for their private use, never discontinued the practice even when there seemed to be no public recognition coming from any quarters. It is a tribute to the far-sightedness of such people who continued with literary endeavour and preserved their cultural treasures in Nagari manuscripts in the face of, not only official negligence and slander but also the contempt and frown of those of their own community who enjoyed official patronage and took ostensible pride in jettisoning links with their own cultural traditions. Against this background, the endeavour of scholars like Pt. Durga Prasad Kachru, Pt. Jia Lal Kaul Jalali, Professor S. K. Toshkhani, Professor P. N. Pushp, to name a few, towards modifying sets of distinct marks for distinct phonetic representation, deserves special mention. Some Hindi journals, published in pre-independence days, carried sizeable matter in 'Nagari Kashmiri', which proves the point beyond doubt.

4.5 Official Discrimination

After the establishment of the first popular government in the state, the Arabic script was officially sought to be used for Kashmiri, to be followed by the Persian script in its present form. The reasons for the latter are not far to seek. Popularity of the script made it acceptable to all. Kashmiri Pandits, writers and intellectuals, welcomed the step without reservations. But there was an underlying dissatisfaction among them over the fact that while the Persian script had been allowed to be used alternatively for the Dogri, Nagari was not given the alternative status for Kashmiri. There was many times more Kashmiri literature preserved in the Nagari than the Dogri preserved in the Persian script. It was a clear communal discrimination against the KPs as against the special consideration shown to the minorities in the Dogri speaking areas. While prominent Kashmiri Pandit scholars worked on the Persian- script committees and

others owned it without reservation, they were dubbed communal if they talked of the Pan-Indian utility of the Nagari script. However, the tradition of using marks devised by linguists and Nagari protagonists in the pre-independent days continued unabated.

4.6 Genuine urge for Nagari

During the four decades prior to the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from the valley, dozens of books and anthologies were published and circulated by individual poets and religious organizations in which the Nagari script was used. The publications had a ready market among the devoted. The trend continues till today, even when the organizations, ashrams and peeths have recognized themselves in Jammu, Delhi and other centres of India, wherefrom their publications keep coming out. Genuine urge helps overcome difficulties in the process of learning. The users' urge to use Nagari did not take much cognizance of their ignorance of the phonetic properties of Hindi or the correspondence between the phonemes and their respective graphemes. Literature was prolifically produced.

4.7 Trans-State Experimentation

At the trans-state level Kashmiri sections of community magazines at Jammu, Delhi, Chandigarh, Jaipur, Mumbai, Lucknow, Calcutta, etc. used some or the other diacritical marks to indicate vowels peculiar to the language. This presents a variegated picture, for such efforts were independent and undertaken without any co-ordination. The Koshur Samachar (KS) of Delhi assumed central importance. It voiced the concerns of the displaced people and also the cultural longings of those settled in the Indian cities over the centuries of continuous exodus from Kashmir. Those Kashmiri writers who till now were not quite interested in Kashmiri literature published in the KS in the Nagari script joined hands with others of the ilk and made valuable contribution to the, now known as the, "literature of displacement" or the "literature in exile". The KS used a set of diacritical marks, albeit not with morphophonemic precision, in the absence of a well laid out policy. The two symbols used were the ardhachandra and the apostrophe. Both of these were modifiers and not independent symbols for Kashmiri vowels.

4.8 Deliberation over the Nagari and the Kashyap Samachar

In October 1994, the Kashyap Samachar (Kp.S) Jammu was revived and published with fervent enthusiasm on monthly basis. The editors used only one modifier (viz. the apostrophe) placed on different short and long Hindi matras to indicate short and long Kashmiri sounds. For some time this proved to be a successful venture as Kashmiri writers, by and large, picked up the script and used it in transcribing or even direct composition of their ideas. Jammu having emerged as the biggest settlement of the displaced KPs, the circulation of the Kp.S showed encouraging signs. But the editors declared from time to time that they were open on the question of striking uniformity between the marks used in the two premier magazines (viz. the Kp.S and the KS) of the Kashmiri speaking people outside the valley. A discussion ensued in both the journals and many a specialist on scriptology participated in it. The intention was clear. All desired that uniformity in the marks used be evolved and accepted by all concerned.

4.9 The Committee Accord

In December 1995 a committee consisting of the two aforesaid editors, the Hindi editor of the KS and the secretary of the Vikalp Delhi, met and after discussions agreed on adopting these symbols i.e. ardhachandra, apostrophe (') and avagraha (s) for three pairs of Kashmiri vowels, in the following fashion:

(*Editor's note*: Modified text due to unavailability of Nagari script)
avagraha (s): eye, half, log, tail, mouth, eight, safety

ardhachandra: and, cooked rice, kicks, eighth, cold, how many
apostrophe ('): to me, to you, eat, flame, half, fat, handle/tail

Obviously these marks are but modifiers of the Hindi vowels and the Hindi long matras have been used to lengthen the Kashmiri sounds. Hence these symbols also cannot be termed as the best or the most suited for Kashmiri. The happiest situation would be that where all the vowel sounds are represented by independent easy to use and better known diacritical marks. That is why the best available marks (on the computer and the laser printer) having been identified as these above mentioned symbols do not solve the issue permanently. There are still voices of dissent among some notable scriptologists, which cannot be rejected outright. However, these three symbols are quite sufficient and phonetically sound for the Kashmiri script for the present and a lot of literature has already come out in it.

4.10 Need for a Fresh and Final Initiative

It would be in the best interest of those Kashmiri speaking people outside the Valley of Kashmir, who are all for the Nagari script that a fresh attempt be made to involve more scholars and a set of six symbols be agreed upon. As of now, not more than the above mentioned three are available. Hence any additional attempt can bear fruit only when changes in the typewriter, the manual rotary press, the computer and the laser printer are possible to be effected. This would require some investment too. But the investment will be rewarding subsequently. The undermentioned publications need to be taken up immediately:

1. A primer/reader for new learners. The book shall have to be distributed all over the country and in some centres overseas, free of cost.

2. A book for developing the skills of understanding Kashmiri texts, evolved solely for advanced learners, who wish to read more to establish linguistic rapport with the native speakers.

3. Series of introductory monographs on

    a. Shaiva strain in Kashmiri life and letters
    b. Laleshwari, the yogini
    c. Nund Reshi, the synthesizer
    d. Love lyricists and folk traditions
    e. Bhakti poets (at least five) and the essential Kashmiri phenomenon
    f. Modern Kashmiri writers (at least 10) and the search for the moorings, alongwith annexures containing selected writings of the writers included.

4.11 Nagari, the Cultural Identifier

There is a craving in the minds of Kashmiris, whose children no longer speak or use their father-language, to keep abreast with the cultural development of their compatriots back home. Those who live abroad are in no worse situation than those who are scattered all over India for the last hundreds of years. They would like to identify with their roots which have been pulled out many a time to render them non-entities. They would like to know of their distinct literary and cultural traditions which bear the stamps of admiration and esteem given by discerning and accomplished men of eminence all over the world. They desire to know the versatility of their ancestral language that carries the history and culture of the last five thousand years of their forefathers. They would like to disseminate the pride and consciousness of their great past and their ethnic uniqueness to their children. In short they would like to stay alive like proud Kashmiris, anywhere in the world. While Hindi helps them mantain contact with India in general, Kashmiri will inculcate in them sense of belonging to their fatherland. With Nagari their wishes are realizable.

Source:

Kshir Bhawani Times
Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Jammu
August 1997

5 Kashmir in Ancient Sanskrit Literature

Dr. B. N. Kalla

According to the Nilmat Purana, the land of Kashmir was occupied by a vast lake called "Satisara". Modern geological observations have supported this legendary view. On the basis of this fact, the word "Kashmir" is derived from Sanskrit "Kashyapa + Mira" which means the sea lake or the mountain of sage Kashyapa. Kashyapa was the originator of Kashmir. In Kashmiri, it is called "Kasheer" and "Kashmir" in the Indian languages. Phonetically, "m" is eroded here as we find erosion in the word "Samudra" (ocean). "Samudra" changes into the form of "Sadur" (derived from Sanskrit Samudra in the Kashmiri language and "Samandra" in the Indian languages. "M" is retained in Hindi, Urdu, etc. but not in Kashmiri. Thus "Kashyapa + Mira" = Kashmir in the Indian languages other than Kashmiri and "Kasheer" in Kashmiri. Mir in English means the sea as Mariner. In Latin Marinus (more- sea).

The name of Kashmir does not occur in the Vedic literature. In the "Nadi Sukta" of Rig Veda, there is a hymn which mentions the name of Vitasta (in Kashmiri Veth and modern Jhelum).

5.1 Great Grammarians

Among the grammarians, the earliest referenee to Kashmir is found in Panini's (500 B.C.) "Ashtadhayi" and in Patanjali's great commentary on it. There the term "Kashmir" and its derivation "Kashmira" are stated as the name of the country and its inhabitants, respectively.

Among the epics, we find the name of "Kashmir" in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The Mahabharata refers in several passages to "Kashmir" and their king, but in a way which merely indicates that the valley was situated in the hilly regions to the north of India. Similarly, some of the Puranas refer to Kashmir in the list of northern nations. The earliest Sanskrit literature of the valley so far known is the Nilmat Purana. According to the opinion of Dr. Buhler, a famous German Indologist: "It is a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends". Besides, the reference to worships prescribed by "Nila" and observed by the people, the work dilates upon such various topics as the Principal Nagas or sacred springs of Kashmir, the origin of the "Mahapadamsara" (present Wular Lake), places dedicated to Shiva and Vishnu, the sacred river confluences and lakes, the chief pilgrimages of the land and in the end upon the sanctity of the Vitasta.

Varahmihra (C.A.D. 500), in his Brahtsamhita, includes the Kashmiras in the north-eastern division of the other tribes who lived in this region. He mentions the Abhisaras, Daradas, Darvas, Khashas, Kiras, etc., the tribes which are known from other sources to have inhabited Kashmir and its neighbouring regions in historical periods. Harasha, a famous poet (7th Century A.D.), in his "Ratnavali" (drama), refers to the saffron of the Kashmira country, which was best of all types of saffrons, both in colour and in scent.

5.2 Very useful information

The Nilmat Purana describes the tribes as Nagas, Pishachas, Darvas, Abhisaras, Gandharas, Shakas, Khashas, Mundavas, Madaras, Yavanas, etc. In the Atharvasamhita, we find mention of some northern tribes like the Bahlikas, Mahavarshas, Gandharis and Mujavats. The Brahmnas and the Upnishdas refer to some of the tribes who lived in the north-west, such as the Gandharas, Kekyas, Madaras and Ambashthas.

Kshemendra, the polyhister, in his work, namely "Samyamatrika", furnishes us with some useful information about the topographical details of his country. His heroine, Kankali travels through the length and breadth of Kashmir. To the poet we owe the first reference to "Pirpanchal" route (Panchadhara). After Kshemendra, Somdeva, the author of the Kathasaritsagar, describes Kashmir as a region in the south of the Himalayas by the waters of the Vitasta. He mentions some of the holy sites of the valley, such as Vijayakshetra, Nandikshetra, Varahkshetra and Uttarmansa and the town of Hiranypura.

The temple of Shivavijayesha or Vijayeshwara, since ancient times one of the most famous shrines of the valley, has given its name to the town in which it was situated, Vijayeshwara, the modern Vijabror 75¡9'

long, 33¡48' lat. "Bror" in Kashmiri means God, a derivative of Sanskrit Bhattaraka, corresponding to Ishvara.

The name, Nandikshetra, is given by the Nilmata, the Nandikshetra and Harmukta Mahatmyas to a high alpine valley at the foot of the east glaciers of the Harmukh peaks which contains the sacred Kalodakalake, popularly known as Nundkol. The Nanikshetra includes the ncighbouring site of Bhuteshwara or Buthsher, in the Kankanai valley below Nandkol.

Varahkshetra is modern Baramulla.

5.3 Ganga Lake

Uttarmansa is meant the sacred Ganga lake situated below the eastern glaciers of Mount Harmukh and popularly known as Gangabal.

Hiranypura, the town founded by Hranyaksha at Ranyal, a village situated circ. 74¡52 long. 34¡12 lat. close to the high road which leads from Srinagar to Ganderbal and the Sindh Valley.

Bilhana, the contemporary of Kalhana, lived during the reigns of King Kalsha and Harsha. He also left an account of his native valley. In his Vikramandekadeva Charita, he gives us a vivid picture of the Kashmirian capital and the village of Khonomusha (present Khonmoh) where he took birth. His account, apart from its poetic beauties, is full of local details. In addition to it, he has given the description of the language of his time. As per his version, Sanskrit and hakrit were in use like their mother-tongue.

5.4 Historical document

For the history, as well as for the early geography of the valley, Kalhana's Rajtarangini is a very important historical document. In the first Taranga of his work, he gives us an account of the legends relating to the creation of Kashmir and its sacred river, the Vitasta, and refers, besides, to the most famous of the many Tirthas in which Kashmir was abundant. For the historical geography of Kashmir is the mass of incidental references of topographical interest scattered throughout his work.

Ancient Kashmir was really rich in holy places and the objects of pilgrimages were planted throughout the valley. According to the Rajtarangini, Kashmir was a country where there was not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tirtha. The springs (Naag in Kashmiri), which had their tutelary deities in the form of Nagas, the streams and the rivers, in particular sacred legends attached to each of them, innumerable places connected with the worship of various gods and goddesses - all these and many more have been frequently mentioned by Kalhana. They have some topographical importance as they enable us to trace with more or less certainty the early history of most of the popular places of pilgrims visited up to present day. The marvellous accuracy of Kalhana's topographical knowledge about some of the Tirthas tends to show that he visited them personally.

A number of feferences made by Kalhana regarding the origin of towns, cities, villages, estates and shrines are also of topographical importance. His knowledge about the birth of these towns and shrines seems to have been gathered from the inscriptions, recording the consecration of temples and grants of land by former kings.

5.5 Accurate description

The system of nomenclature followed in ancient Kashmir preserved a genuine tradition regarding their founder. In the cases of towns and cities, the appellation "Pura" is attached to the name of the founder. In the cases of religious structures, terms indicating the deity or the object to which the building was dedicated follow.

The notices for the foundations of the towns, etc. made by Kalhana, are sometimes accompanied by accurate description of the sites chosen and of structures connected with them. Mention may be made in

this connection about his descriptions of the towns of Pravarapura, Parihaspura and Jayapura Dwarvati. It is Kalhana's accurate dcscription which alone has helped future scholars to idenlify some of the ruined sites of present times with the famed cities of the past. The seventh and eighth Tarangas of Rajtarangini are full and elaborate with detailed topographical intormation. Kalhana, incidentally, tells us so much about the various localities connected with those events - we can clearly trace them from the map. His topographical exactness is strikingly revealed from such accounts as the regulation of the waters of the Vitasta by Suyya, the sieges of Shrinagar under Sussala, the battle on the Gopadari hill in the same period, the blockade of Lohara and the siege of the Shirahshila castle.

5.6 Description of Kashmir

The poet, Mankha, was a contemporary of Kalhana. In the third canto of his work - Shrikanthacharita - he gives an account of Pravarpura, the capital of Kashmir.

Among other texts of topographical interest, mention may be made of Haracharitachintamani of Jayadratha. Jayadratha belonged to the end of the 12th century AD or the beginning of the 13th century AD. In his 32 cantos, he deals with a number of legends connected with Shiva and his Avatars Of these, eight legends are centred round well-known Kashmirian Tirthas and afford the author an opportunity of describing various sacred sites of Kashmir, connected directly or indirectly with them. Jayadratha's detailed description shows the gradual development of legends connected with different places of pilgrimage since the days of Kalhana.

The numerous Mahatmyas of Kashmir are also interesting sources for early historical geography. Thus the fole of Mahatmyas in describing the topography of the valley cannot be ruled out. They give us a good intormation regarding the ancient nomenclature of Kashmir. Among the 51 Mahatmyas, the Vitasta Mahatmya is a big one which is divided into 35 Patalas. They generally set forth the different legends connected with various places of pilgrimage, the merit to be appeared by their visits and the rites to be performed in each of the sites. They contain many early materials and local traditions and are thus vaiuahle for a systemalic study of the old topography of the valley.

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A Sanskrit scholar and linguist, Dr. Kala is presently with the Department of Sanskrit, Delhi University.

Source: **Koshur Samachar**

6 About Languages and Scripts

(with special reference to Sharda script)

Prof. K.L. Kalla

The primitive man in different parts of the world invented symbols to communicate his ideas and feelings to his fellow bretheren. Of course, this happened with the evolution of civilization. The earliest known symbols of this type are the Hieroglyphics of Egypt. By and by, alphabets having different sounds came into use; when these alphabets were joined words were formed. As epochs passed, different languages originated in different parts of the world.

There are different languages spoken in different parts of the world. In broad terms, languages may be divided into different families: Aryan, Semitic, Teutonic, etc. According to J.L. Nehru:

"We shall find if we study these languages that although they are so many the parent languages are few. For instance, wherever Aryans went the language belonged to the Aryan family. Sanskrit and Latin and Greek, Italian and some other languages are all cousins belonging to the Aryan family. Many of our Indian languages are all children of Sanskrit and so they also belong to the Aryan family."

6.1 Big Language Family

"Another big language family is the Chinese. This has Chinese, Burmese, Tibetan and Siamese A third group is the Semitic which includes Arabic and Hebrew. Some of the languages of South India, like Tamil and Telugu and Malayalam and Canarese do not belong to these groups. These four are of the Dravidian family and are very old."1

A language is something spoken; it has a number of sounds. Rightly considered a language is an organised set of sounds. These sounds convey a meaning from the mind of the speaker to the mind of the hearer, and thus connect man with man. It must have taken the primitive man thousands of years to invent a mode of writing a language upon paper; or to represent sounds by signs These are called letters, or alphabets. In Greek language the first two letters are 'Alpha', 'Beta'; in English 'a', 'b', 'c', etc; in Hindi ""., .E, ?, ?U""; in Urdu There are some languages that have never been put upon paper at all; the African language, many in the South Sea Islands and other parts of the globe.

A language is like an Organism, and it grows and dies like any living thing. "As it grows it loses something and it gains something else. It changes its appearance until at length its appearance in an age is something almost entirely different from what it was in the early youth. The oldest English which is usually called Anglo Saxon, is as different from our modern English as if they were two distinct languages; and yet are not two languages, but one and the same."2

Although the various language families seem to be different there are many common words and similarities. "In Hindi and Sanskrit the words are 'Pita ALGAE", and 'Mate EAE"; in Latin they are 'Pater' and 'Mater'; in Greek 'Pater' and 'Meter'; in German 'dater' end 'Mutter', and so on in many other languages. Do they not all seem to be very much alike?"3

6.2 Sharda Script

Every spoken language has a script peculiar to it in which it is written. In ancient Egypt 'Hieroglyphics' were written in the form of shapes of birds Unlike other Indian languages, the Kashmiri language has no script of its own. Regarding the 'Kashmir) Alphabet', Prof. J.L. Koul observes: "Do we have a Kashmiri alphabet? It is wrong to say that SHARDA was our script for Kashmiri that it expressed more or less adequately, all the sounds of the Kashmiri alphabet. Sharda was our script for writing Sanskrit, which we, now, very rightly translate in the Nagri script. Nor was The Persian or Arabic script ever adaped to Kashmiri so as to enable it to express more or less adequately, the sounds peculiar to our language.

Kashmiri shared the handicap of not having its own alphabet with several other languages which, not long ago, lead no alphabet of their own."

"Kashmir is, what may rightly be called a vowel language; it has not only many vowels but its vowel system is intricate. It is semi-vowels and shades of vowel sounds; and it differs from other Indian languages in having silent or nearly silent vowels (called 'matras', by Hindu Grammarian). In his "Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language." Sir George Grierson lists as many as thirty vowels, quite a few of which are only medial, never initial. In framing a practical Kashmiri alphabet we can leave some of these subtleties to the context. Nevertheless, Kashmiri has an intricate vowel system and it cannot afford drop or omit vowel marks as is very easily done in Persian Arabic characters."4

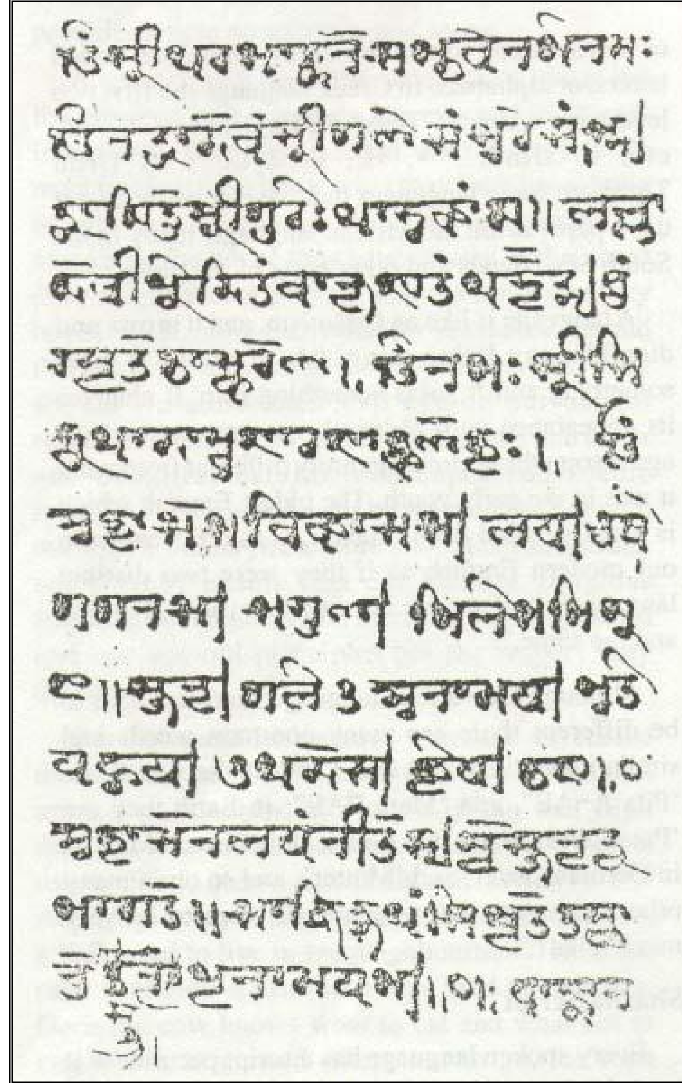
Now, about the SHARDA script that was much in use not only in Kashmir, but also in North Western India (Gilgit etc.), the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh and even in Central Asia. This script enjoys a foremost position among all the ancient Indian scripts. It was evolved from the Western branch of Brahmi nearly 1200 years ago. It is an excellent ancient alphabet of Kashmir. Almost all the ancient Sanskrit literature of Kashmir is written in this script.

A number of foreign scholars have done considerable work on SHARDA script: (1) George Buhler in his memorable work, "Indian Palaeography", (pp. 76/77, (2) Leeche in his "Grammar of the Cashmere Language", (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1894, pp. 399 95), (3) Sir George Grierson in his paper in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" (1916, pp 677 95), and also in his note in the "Linguistic Survey of India", (Vol viii, p. 254). Credit should go to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel for discussing the development of the SHARDA script in detail in his famous wrok, "Antiquities of Chamba State", (Part I) Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha has also briefly discussed the SHARDA script in his, "Bharatiya Prachina Lipimala", which is based on Vogel's work.

According to Dr. B.L. Dembi: "In the second half of the 8th century we find in the Brahmi alphabet of North Western India a distinct development of a new alphabet which though agreeing in many respects with that used in the epigraphic and literary records of the 6th and 7th centuries, including the famous Gilgit manuscript, shows several essential differences in the forms of several characters. This alphabet is known the SHARDA alphabet. Though an alphabet of Kashmir, par excellences, the Sharda has remained for several centuries a popular script of an extensive area of North West India including Ladakh, Jammu, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Delhi'. This much is certain that it must have originated in Kashmir which from the earliest times has been the principal seat of SHARDA, or the Goddess of learning."5

The earliest Sharda inscription on a stone slab, dating back to 774 A.D., was discovered at the village Hund at Attock in West Pakistan. "There successive stages of development of the Sharda alphabet can easily be dicerned. The earliest phase is represented by the inscriptions and the coins of the 8th to 10th centuries; the second by those of the 11th to 14th centuries; and the third and final by the epigraphic and literary record of the 14th and the subsequent centuries."6

The most early Indian stone inscription is of the time of the Maurya King, Asoka; this is called the Mauryan alphabet. Later, in the records of the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D., found in the North Western India, there is another alphabet, called as the Western Gupta alphabet. This alphabet finally led to the SHARDA alphabets in the 8th and the 9th centuries. Later, the coins of the rulers of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir (2nd half of the 9th and the early I 0th centuries A.D.) also bear engravings in Sharda. After the 13th century, this alphabet underwent a development in the records of Chamba and the surrounding areas. According to Pt. Anand Koul Bamzai, Sharda alphabets were used in stone inscriptions even up to the 18th century; this is corroborated by his discovery of a Sharda inscription dated Vikram 1846 (1789 A.D.) The Sharda script is said to have reached perfection by the middle of the I 5th and the 1 6th centuries. However, the epigraphists Kielhorn and Hoernle hold the view that Sharda alphabet is a very conservative alphabet, as it changed very little across the centuries.



Lalla-Vakhs in Sharda Script (old MS.)
Courtesy: **Bhaskar Razdan**

The author is a former Professor of English and has published a number of books on Kashmiriology. ***Ed.***

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Source: **Koshur Samachar**

7 Languages, Scripts and Sharda

Dr. R.L. Bhat

Language and culture-speech and society-are the two essential of being human. Language precedes culture being coeval with the origin of man. Probably, it has taken man the whole of the 10 million years, he has been around, to pattern and modulate his speech into language, but the effort has been spectacularly fruitful. Man, has accumulated a rich inventory of languages whose number is reckoned at 2796. And, this number is the accepted minimum while the maximum number of tongues is put close to 5000. Many of the languages are spoken by very few people, and then over half of the languages may be actually dead!

In the classification of languages the distinction between the language and dialect is very crucial. Even seemingly uniform language, includes subtle variations from region to region. It is said that a language changes after every 50 km. Many would call these 50 km variants dialects. Thus the Chinese, which claims a sixth of the humans as its speakers is actually an aggregation of numerous dialects, many of which have a claim to be called languages in themselves. So is the case with Hindi. These variation are important from the points of view of understanding Kashmiri language and its script, in that they underline the fact, that minor variations in life-style, group behaviour culture, even geographic situation leads' to subtle changes in intonations. The stress on certain portions, sounds, is emphasised, while that in other parts is overlooked. Nuances of synatax change, and expressions assume peculiarities. In the course of time, the language takes a new form. It becomes a new language. Thus through a number of changes (approximately four) the language of vedic aryans has given birth to the scores of languages now spoken from Assam to Athens on to America. And everywhere these have spawned types and sub types.

So did the scripts. Technically, anything that is capable of being a medium for expression of a language is a script. It may even be a body gesture, knots upon a rope (used in certain South American languages) pictograms (the famous Egyptan heirlogyphics) figures (the chutches of 0 and 1 and used in computer language) and of course, the familiar alphabets. Like languages, the scripts developed by man for denoting languages, attest to the fecundity of human ingenuity. It has been said that all the languages are equally old. That is to say that all the root-languages have developed around the same time. They must have, for any animal that was human was to have a language. It would not be plausible to say, for example, that the Aryan language, is older than that of a tribal group who lived upon an isolated Carribbean island, because humans belong to a single zoological species and are an interbreeding group. The same, however, cannot be said of scripts. Some linguistic groups, developed scripts, which in turn spawned new scripts while some languages and still without a scripts.

The scripts in use at present can be classed into three broad classes: Chinese, Semitic, and Brahmi. Chinese is the script used for Chinese (Mandarin) Japanese and Korean group of languages. This is an abstracted pictorial script, in which word-concept complexes are represented by a specific shape called character.

Unlike the Semitic and Brahmi scripts, Chinese script is not alphabetic. The symbol character is a notation for a full word. Two characters, can however, be joined, and written in association to denote a different concept. Semitic and Brahmi scripts are alphabetic scripts. The symbol-i.e. alphabet is given a certain sound and words are then denoted by associating together the appropriate sound-bits. The alphabets by themselves are meaningless. They become meaningful only when joined with others, to denote a word. This is important from our stand point in that, the alphabets that are joined to denote a word, must actually express the intended sound bits or it becomes an incorrect representation. Thus though English and Russian scripts are of the same origin, it is not feasible to write the latter in Roman script because the sound bits peculiar to Russian tongue are not present in Roman script. Nor can the Russian scripts be a correct medium for English and Italian languages.

It is still a moot point, which of the two scripts is older. Semitic group, has been considered older because the earliest recorded sample script date to around 1500-BC, while that of Brahmi are of about 500 BC. But that is fragile evidence. Rigveda records that figures from one to eight were written on ear-flaps of

cows. Semitic script originated in Israel. It passed through two branches, the northern and the southern. The northern semitic, spread to Syria, Pheonicia etc, and gave rise to three important types, Aramaic, Hebrew and Pheonician. The Pheonician around 800 BC spread to Greece and there gave rise to the Greek script, which became the base scripts for the Latin (Roman) and other present day European scripts. The southern branch (which some consider an independent line), spread to Arabian peninsula and on to northern Africa. The Arabs however, adopted the Aramaic scripts around the first century AD. From it developed two scripts Kofi and Nasakh. Around the beginning of Christian era, Nabti tribe, living in the northern Arabia, adopted Aramaic script. This is called Nabti. From another branch of Aramaic rose modern Hebrew. Nabti scripts developed into Kofi and Nasakh scripts, which were to become mother scripts of half a dozen scripts including Arabic and Nastalique.

Kofi/Nasakh did not employ any dots in the beginning. Dots were introduced around 500 AD to represent some more sounds. These closely resembling scripts, spawned further script patterns. Kofi, developed into Salas, Toqeh, Rakah, Mahqeq, and Rehan. Nasakh became florid and embellished as Gulzar and Gubar. Around 1000 AD, Toqeh and Mahqeeq, were combined to yield Taliq scripts. Around the time of Timur, Nasakh and Talique scripts were intermixed to yield Nastalique. At the same time four more alphabets 'Pey', 'Cheem', 'Tsey', and 'Gaff' were added to it. The original Aramaic contained only 22 alphabets; with dots, the number in Kofi/Nasakh was raised to 29, which is the alphabet number in Arabic. Nastalique contained around 37 alphabets, and scope for some more derivatives to denote aspirated sibtants. This Nastalique, is the script, which is used for Persian and Urdu languages. It has been adopted with a few modifications as a script for Kashmiri tongue, though Kashmiri had an appropriate and precise script of its own in Sharda, which was developed, along with the language, from Brahmi script.

Brahmi, is the script that evolved in Indian subscontinent. As mentioned earlier, its earliest samples were dated to 5-6th century AD. The reference, in Rigveda, takes it a thousand years back, to the just a little anterior (1500-2000 BC) to the time assigned to the origin of Semitic scripts. That makes Brahmi contemporarneous, if not antecedent, to the semitic script. Brahmi, however, is a much advanced script. Phonetically the alphabet is very apt, and precisely classified into different sound clutches emanating from a particular oro-pharyngeal region. Its vowels are well classed, very advanced and appropriate. As a result it has always been believed that it must have originated from some more primitive form. In absence of any other script, a loose conjecture placed semitic as its base,but every naunce of linguistics refuted the supposition. The question was left open. It is still open, but the recent decipherment of Indus Valley seals has changed the whole picture and perspective, not only of the Brahmi script, but also the ancient Indian history. The inscriptions upon the seals have been found to be vedic language, which makes Aryans and Indus Valley people blood-brothers not antagonistic foes. For the Brahmi script, it gives a possible origin, which would now date to the days of Egyptian heirogyphies oreven earlier to 3000-5000 BC!

Indus seals could also possibly give a better explanation of Khroshti script. Khrosti script, belongs to the same period as Brahmi. It had 37 letters of which 24 resembled Brahmi. Of the rest, a few (supposedly 3) seemed to resemble the Semitic script, on which basis it was classed as being derived from Semitic. Kroshti, did not flourish and shrank. Brahmi, is the script of rock eddicts of Ashoka. Around the time of the birth of Christ, Brahmi evolved into five man branches; Northern, North-Western, Western, Southern and Eastern. These became the mother scripts from which the modern Indian scripts developed during the next thousand years. These branches largely corresponded to the Upbramshas that were spoken in these different geographical areas about the time of Gupta kings. Upbramshas, was the 'corrupted, impure' language into which the earlier Prakrit had 'degraded.' Prakrit itself was a the language, into which the earlier tongue Palli had 'degenerated' about the time Christ was born. Palli, of course, was the off spring of Sanskrit that had replaced the latter as language of the people around Buddhas time. Thus linguistically Sanskrit, moulted and moulted, to give rise to Upbramashas, while the Brahmi script diversified into five regional variants.

Upbramasha that was spoken in the North-Western regions of India, (Punjab, Jammu, Himachal and the Northern parts of present day Pakistan) gave rise to the languages spoken in these areas now North

Western Brahmi was the script in which this Upabramasha (and the earlier Sanskrit, Palli etc) of these areas was written. Around 10th century AD the languages Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi etc began to evolve in the different parts of this area. During this time the N-W Brahmi also changed shape and gave rise to a slightly different , and advanced, form called Sidd-matrika. (Sidd-matrika, was the lipi, used in Kashmir during Lalita Datta's (699-736AD) time). This, latter half of the first millenium AD is the time when the modern Indian languages were evolving. With the linguistic evolution, they were remoulding reshaping and adapting the regional variants of Brahmi to fashion appropriate phonetic symbols for their respective spoken tongues.

In the evolution of the languages and at of scripts, it is pertinent to note that while languages evolve naturally helplessly without any will or determination on the part of their speakers, the scripts are fashioned actively by the speakers of the language, and constantly modified to come up with the most appropriate medium. During this developmental journey, the scripts are altered bit by bit, little by little. They continue to resemble the original ones, till the accomulated atterations become great enough to give them a distincts designation. At that stage, it is given a distinct name. Sidd-matrika, continued to be the script in Kashmir in the 10th century. It continued to change. By the turn of the millenium it had been transformed to Sharda. By the turn of the millenim the languages spoken by the people of Kashmir had also become distinguishable as Kashmiri. About the time, that NW Brahmi in its Sidd-matrika avtar was being transformed into Sharda, Devnagri was being fashioned from Northern Brahmi, and Oriya, Bengali, Assamese scripts were being moulded from Purvi-Brahmi scripts. Having been derived from the same root, they retained a broad similarlity, but the phonetic designation of the alphabet varied. The N-W. Brahmi, evolved into Sharda Gurimukhi, and Lunda scripts. These resembled the alphabets of the scripts of farther regions, but the resemblence amongst themselves was greater. Yet they were different. Though the morphiums, i.e. the shape of alphabate, resembled the phonetic designation of the alphabet differed. This difference was vastly greater in case of sounds assigned to the svars or vowels. These latter, infact, give these scripts their characteristic distinctiveness.

Though both Semitic and Brahmi (and the respective scripts derived from them) are alphabetic, there is a sea of difference between them. The former is a confused clutch where the vowels and consonants are jumbled together. More imporantly, the consonants in Semitic, and its derived scripts, are not pure sounds. 'Aay, Bee, Eff, Pee, Dubliew, Alif Cheem,' do no carry this sound'-desingation into the word, but only a part of it. Thus 'Cheem', gives only, 'che' sound to the word, and 'eff' gives only 'fe' sound. On one hand this sound can't be further shortened, and secondly the vovel added becomes an addition not a root modifier. Like 'F+A+T= fe+ae+te=fat'. Generally, the consonents represent a single sound-bit, but the phonetic value characterised by the same vowel may take many different sounds eg the 'a' in words 'fat, fate, far, fare, fall'! In an established script say English in Roman script, this variation has got fixed through long usage, but the problem becomes alarmingly confounding when, say you begin to write (anew) Kashmiri in Roman script: which 'a' to use for what sound'

The phonetics of Brahmi and its derived scripts is scientific and precise. The vowel sounds are fixed, unchanged. One sign designates one and only one sound. Its consonants by themselves are soundless, and get sound only when svar (vowel) is added to them. As such each vowelled 'vengen' is precise in intonation. This scheme is carried into Sharda. Sharda, however has its svar-mala pecularised to the Kashmiri intonation, since it has been developed as the Kashmiri language evolved eg. the (Aa) of Sharda is shooter, its (Oow) is vov.' Kashmiris do not say 'Omkar' they say 'voimkar'. They don't say 'ustad' (as the Persian/Urdu word is) but 'Vustad', 'Eh-San' becomes 'yeeh-saw'. Good or bad that is a linguistic pecularity. No scripts other than Sharda takes these pecularities into account. Nor can, because its sound assignations are different. Sharda in turn would not represent the phonetic characteristics of say Punjabi or Sanskrit with any accuracy.

It is wrongly believed by some people that Sharda is a script of Sanskrit. Sharda evolved when the language of Kashmir was passing into Kashmiri, with its peculiar intonations, variations and sounds. As a result, Sharda got imprinted with these vocal pecularities. And, became unfit for Sanskrit. Sharda, however, continued to be used for writing Sanskrit in Kashmir. But Sanskrit is a language that lays

emphasis on the sound of each alphabet. The Sanskrit of Sharda script, became a different Sanskrit, understood in, writing but un-understandable in speech. No Kashmiri can prounce Sanskrit correctly, unless he/she takes special instruction in Devnagri script. Because, Sharda is not Devnagri.

Apart from its mis-use as a lipi for Sanskrit, Sharda has suffered another handicap. The long centuries, of Persian speaking Moghul rule and pushto spewing Afghan enslavement, forced Kashmiris to love and like the foreign Semitic scripts and to abhor Sharda script for writing Kashmir. Till 14th-15th Century AD even Tombstones wer inscribed in Sharda. People irrespective of relgion spoke Kashmiri and signed their names in Sharda, as the 15th century, will of Makhdoom Sahib bears wittness to. By the end of 16th century Kofi and Nasak variants of Aramic script had nugded in, into the tombstone inscriptions, though Sharda still existed side-by-side. That was the beginning of Moghul rule. Sharda, was pushed under and people Hindu and Muslims, learnt, read and wrote in Nasak, Nasatlique and other offshoorts of the Semitic scripts to ingratiate themselves with the rulers. None of these is suited to writing of Kashmiri, but the slanted visions have willed these inappropriate scripts upon the Kashmir tongue. That, it results in misleading scripts and mis-reading of manuscripts, unfortunately, seems to bother none.

Source: **Koshur Samachar**

8 Kashmir – The Home of Sanskrit Language and Literature

P. N. K Bamzai

The most outstanding contribution of Kashmir to the rich and varied cultural heritage of India has been the development and spread of the Sanskrit language and literature. Besides, it was through this medium that humanities, philosophy, religion, medicine, history, law and polity, in which Kashmiris made a mark, were propagated not only in the rest of India, but in Central and Southeast Asia too. With the development of Mahayan through the efforts of Kashmiri Brahmans under the rule of Asoka and Kaniska, Kashmiri Buddhist monks, missionaries and philosophers travelled in their hundreds over China, Korea, Japan and Tibet to propagate Mahayan Buddhism and Indian culture among nearly half the population of the world.

It is not possible to pierce the veil of time to trace the origin of this ancient language. However the word Aryan which appears in the Vedas perhaps gives a clue. The term Vedas embraces a body of writings the origin of which is ascribed to divine revelation and surpass in antiquity every other literary document belonging to the Aryans.

How and when Kashmir became the centre of Sanskrit learning may be traced to the Aryans settled for ages on the banks of the mighty Vedic river Saraswati in the Punjab which branched off to Rajasthan and Saurashtra. With Sanskrit as their mother-tongue their society comprised the four Varnas or Castes - Brahman, Khashtriya, Vaisas and Sudras.

About five thousand years ago the mighty Saraswati changed its course and finally dried up. The Aryan settlements on its banks got dispersed to different regions of India. One enterprising batch under the leadership of the Brahmans went to nearby Kashmir and sought shelter from the Naga ruler of Kashmir who allowed them to settle in the delectable Valley on condition they adopted some of the festivals and usages of the Nagas.

Carrying with them Sanskrit, the repository of their cultural heritage, they passionately devoted themselves to its study, enriching it further through the writings of poets, dramatists and Vedic philosophers. Sanskrit became the language of religion and polite literature and in the words of Bilhana who lived as late as the 9th century A.D., even women in Kashmir spoke Sanskrit fluently.

Kashmiri Pandits took pains "in keeping the Sanskrit language pure and perfect." The Brahmanical religion finds its practical expression in sacrificial performance. And the sacred obligation incumbent on the Brahmans of rendering correctly the letter and sense of their Vedic texts necessarily involved a good deal of serious grammatical and etymological study.

They believed that grammar was the only instrument which could take care of adhering to these texts and holding the entire Sanskrit language and literature in their firm grip.

Hence Panini's monumental work on Sanskrit grammar, the Ashtadhyayi became the object of their special study. This great work marks the culminating point of grammatical research and besides treats chiefly the post-Vedic or classical speech. Ashtadhyayi came ultimately to be looked upon as the representative of grammatical science, and has ever since remained the standard authority for Sanskrit grammar. For comprehensive grasp of linguistic facts, and a penetrating insight into the structure of the language, this work stands probably unrivalled in the literature of any nation.

An equally important contribution to Sanskrit grammar was Mahabhasya, a commentary written in the second century B. C. by a Kashmiri grammarian Patanjali. According to the Kashmiri tradition upheld by several scholars, he was born in the village of Godra in the South of the Valley.

The Mahabhasya too has been commented upon by Kayatta in his Bhasyapradipa.

That Kashmiris were keen to remain masters of Sanskrit grammar is shown by the number of works authored by them on this subject. Candracarya for instance founded through his work Candra-Vyakarna, a school of Sanskrit grammar called Candra, second in importance to that of Panini.

Another commentary on Panini's work, Kasikavriti, written jointly by Jayadata and Vamana, two Brahman grammarians, has been mentioned by I-tsing in the seventh century A.D.

Kalhana refers to the study of Patanjali's grammatical work Mahabhasaya under Jayapida towards the end of the eighth century A.D. His teacher in grammar, Kshiraswamin, wrote his well-known commentary on Dhatupatha or the study of verbs. That Kshiraswamin was a Kashmiri Pandit is proved by a passage in the Vamastuty appended by Rajanaka Ananda to his commentary on Naisadcarita, where he is claimed to be one of the great scholars produced by the Rajanaka family of Kashmir.

In PROSODY and METRICS Kashmiri authors have made valuable contribution to Sanskrit language and literature. Pinglacarya, the author of the well-known work on METRICS, Pingala, was a Kashmiri and so was KEDARA BHATTA who wrote Vrittaratnakara, used widely after Pingala. Tradition makes the Chhanda-Sutra of Pingala, the starting point of Prosody. Another work on Metrics was Suvritta-tilaka of the well-known Kashmiri author, Kshemendra. Mamatta, his later contemporary, wrote a book entitled Savdavyaparacaraca. In the field of LEXICOGRAPHY also Kashmiri Pandits' contribution is considerable. The Anekarthakosa of Mankha is of special importance and is an improvement Amarasimha.

8.1 Alankara Sastra or Poetics

Both according to their own account and according to the admission of the learned in India, the Kashmiri Pandits were formerly as distinguished in the 'Alankara-Sastra', or poetics, as in poetry and produced a long series of writers on this subject.

There is nothing surprising about it for, in a beautiful valley like Kashmir, the account must necessarily have been on the pursuit of beauty in all its aspects. The Kashmirian writers did not only develop some of the earlier schools of poetics that were born in other parts of India such as a Rasa, Alankara, Riti, Vakroti and Aucatya but made original contribution to this art with their theory of Dhvani.

The first propounder of this theory was Anandavardhana who in his Dhvanyaloka asserts that it is Dhvani that is the soul of poetry. According to Kane, "the Dhvanyaloka is an epoch-making work in the history of Alankara literature. It occupies the same position in poetics as Panini's Ashadhyayi in grammar and Sankracarya's commentary on Vedanta".

Anandavardhana's literary activity falls within the years 860-890 AD, which almost coincides with the reign of King Avantivarman. It may well be described as the most prosperous age in the political and cultural history of ancient Kashmir. It was in this atmosphere of creative endeavour when sculpture, music, architecture and poetry reached new heights, that Anandavardhana found the inspiration for his epoch-making theory. His works reveal the vast range of his studies. His interests were varied - poetry, drama, philosophy, theology, ancient lore, Buddhist classics, he was equally familiar with them all.

Anandavardhana's masterpiece, Dhvanyalok or the "Light of suggestion" marks the beginning of a new age in aesthetics. During the hundred years between his exposition of the theory and its final establishment by Abhinavagupta, writers on aesthetics continued to devote their attention to it. Inspite of the geographical isolation of Kashmir, the theory was quickly noted by scholarly circles all over India, and we hardly come across any important writer on aesthetics who could ignore it.

The first among the Kashmiri successors of Anandavardhana in aesthetics proper was Mukla Bhatta. Apart from other problems, his book on Dhvani contains a discussion on the use of words in their various primary and secondary senses, a branch of speculation that has today come in for a good deal of emphasis at the hands of European writers on "Semantics".

8.2 Abhinavagupta

It was, however, Abhinavagupta, the famous poet, critic, philosopher and saint of Kashmir who wrote profusely on aesthetics. Like a drama moving to its climax, aesthetic thought in Kashmir moved to its

highest pitch in the writings of Abhinavagupta, undoubtedly the greatest figure in the history of Indian aesthetics.

In a family full of traditions of scholarship, Abhinavagupta was born some time between 950 and 960 A.D. In his childhood he faced a calamity in the death of his mother and then renunciation of this world by his father. But being gifted with a strong will, he pursued studies with uncommon zeal.

Then began his own creative activity. He studied all the Tantric texts from the point of view of Kashmir Saivism and the result of his labours was his famous work, Tantraloka. In his second phase he made a study of all the schools of poetics and produced his famous work on aesthetics, Abhinavabharati and Locana a commentary on Anandavardhana's Dhvanyaloka. In the third and final phase he was drawn towards metaphysical problems and made his own important formulations which raised Kashmir Saiva philosophy to its highest level and secured for it a permanent place in the history of human thought.

Apart from this, his own contribution is the enunciation of Shanta Rasa, the mood of serenity and peace, as the ultimate end of art. In his own words, "all emotions, when their exciting conditions are present, emerge from Shanta, and when these conditions are withdrawn they again merge into Shanta".

8.3 His Successors

Mamattacarya, his disciple also made considerable contribution to poetics. He took his early education at Banaras. His famous Kavyapraksa possesses such merit that it has been commented upon by more than seventy ancient and modern scholars. It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, deals with the merits and demerits of poetry, the functions of different words and their sources and the figures of speech.

The tenth chapter of his Kavyaprakasa has been continued by his pupil Manikyacandra. He has written the first and most reliable commentary on Kavyaprakasa. Rajanaka Kuyaka, who lived in the twelfth century A.D. wrote among several books Alankarasavasav and summarised the views of the early writers.

This does not, however, exhaust the list of Kashmirian writers on poetics which would run into hundreds. It is obvious that the whole literature of Sanskrit poetics has been permeated by their contributions of original works in this field.

8.4 Poetry and Prose

Kashmiri writers have produced a galaxy of poets and dramatists in Sanskrit. Influenced by the natural beauty of their homeland, its lofty mountains, lakes, waterfalls and charming flowers of multitudinous colours, they wrote dramas, epics, lyrical as well as dialectical poems, essays, fiction and anthologies.

It would not be out of place here to say that writers on Poetics and Saiva and other philosophical schools wrote both in prose and verse. Although poetry is more closely related to music than to any of the other arts, yet the power over verbal melody at its very highest is so self-satisfying that absolute music becomes a superfluity. This is a common feature of all the Sanskrit writers in Kashmir who have attained such mastery over prose and poetry as to achieve this rarest miracle of art.

It is indeed a pity that Sanskrit compositions of Kashmirian poets and authors prior to the sixth century A.D. have not been so far discovered. The Rajatarangini mentions a number of poets and dramatists who flourished long before the beginning of the Christian era.

One, named Chandaka is said to have been a great poet. Kalhana records that he flourished in the reign of Tunjina (C-319 A.D.) and his plays attracted large audiences.

Another poet mentioned by Kalhana is Bharatrmenth who was honoured by Matrigupta, himself a poet, for writing the famous poem Hayagrivavadha by "placing below the volume a golden dish, lest its flavour might escape". This famous poem is lost but is mentioned by Kshemendra and by Mankha in Srikanthacarita. The latter places him by the side of Subhandu and Banal

That Matrigupta who ruled Kashmir for some time as the nominee of Vikramaditya of Ujjain was a poet and a historical character is proved by his commentary on Bharata's Natyasastra which is referred to in Sundarasimha's Natyapradipa.

It would fill a volume to even record the names of writers in Sanskrit after the sixth century A.D. To mention the names of a few outstanding writers would suffice to bring out the deep interest in literary activities of Kashmiri Brahmans.

The first name would be of Damodargupta a famous poet and moralist and the chief councilor of Jayapida. Most of his poetical compositions are lost, but he is quoted in several anthologies.

King Jayapida was also the patron of Bhatta Udbhatta, his court poet known chiefly for his writings on aesthetics. He also wrote the poem Kumarasambhava.

Kalhana mentions the names of Manoratha, Sankhdatta, Cataka and Samdhimat who also flourished at his court.

Another famous poet of the eighth century A.D. was Sankuka who composed a historical poem depicting the fierce battle between Mamma and Utpala, the maternal uncles of Cipatta Jayapida.

Some of the Karkota Kings were poets themselves. We find fragments of poems written by Muktapida and Jayapida preserved in Subhasitavali.

Against the background of royal patronage and deep interest in literary activities of Kashmiri Brahmans, it is not difficult to believe Bilhana's remark that "in Kashmir poetry grew as luxuriantly as Kumkum (Saffron)".

Having achieved a high distinction in Sanskrit language and literature, some of the poets and writers made a mark in the rest of India where they were welcomed with honour, For instance BILHANA who left Kashmir in the reign of Kalasa (1063-89) rose to great prominence at the "court of the Calukya King Parmadi Vikramaditya Tribhavanmala who appointed him as the chief pandit and when travelling on elephants through the hill country of Karnataka, his parasol was borne aloft before the King". He has immortalised his patron in his Vikramankadeva Carita which is perhaps one of the first Sanskrit poems having a historical approach.

MANKHA the renowned poet who served under Jayasimha is known by his poem Srikanthacarita written between the years 1135 and 1145 A.D.. The subject of the poem is the Puranic legend of Siva's overthrow of Tripura. When he completed the poem he put it before an assembly of thirty contemporary scholars, poets and officials where it was publicly read. The list of poets and scholars given by Mankha shows that Kashmir of twelfth century continued to be a centre of Sanskrit learning.

8.5 Kshmendra – Father of Social Satire

Kshemendra's contribution to Sanskrit literature is unique in one respect. He introduces social satire, mixed with humour and sarcasm. His Samayamatrika is a poem of eight chapters narrating the story of the wanderings of a courtesan in the Valley. It is an interesting specimen of satire rarely found in Sanskrit literature, on strolling musicians, women beggars, shopgirls, saints, thieves and other classes of people. His kalavilasa depics various occupations and follies of the people of the time, such as physicians, traders, astrologers, goldsmiths, harlots and saints. His Darpadalama condemns pride which is said to spring from birth in a good and rich family, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, charity and asceticism.

Kshmendra's Desopadesa exposes all kinds of sham in society through the caricatures of the life of various depraved sections of the community, such as cheats, misers, prostitutes, bawds, voluptuaries, students from Gauda (Bengal), old men married to young girls, degraded Saiva Gurus, etc.

Sanskrit poetry continued to flourish in Kashmir even in the thirteen century, Jonaraja mentions a poet Saka who flourished at the court of Samgramadeva (A.D. 1235-52).

The deep religions tendency among Kashmiris inspired them to write devotional songs. Some of the famous poems of this category are Vakratipancasika of Ratnakara, Devisataka of Anandavardhana, Stutravali of Utpala, Sivamahimah of Pushpadanta and Stutikusmanjali of Jagadhar Bhatta.

8.6 Fable Literature

Kashmir has a long tradition of story - telling that goes back to dim antiquity. One may speculate as to why such a tradition should have developed in the Valley to an almost incredible extent. Is it because a peaceful atmosphere and secluded existence encouraged talent in this direction? Was this talent further strengthened by the long winter months of inactivity, with men having the leisure to weave fact and fancy together?

Whatever the reason might be, many of the world's best-known tales have originated in Kashmir. Apart from Gunadhya's legendary Brihatkatha, which is no longer extant, and

SOMADEVA's Kathasaritasagara, many other collections of stories were produced.

Written in flowing narrative style which makes delightful reading, Kathasaritasagara has reached the remotest corners of the world in one form or another. Somadeva wrote it for edification of queen Suryamati, the wife of King Ananta (1028-63 AD). Without doubt it is the largest collection of stories in the world, the number of stanzas alone being more than 22,000. It is twice as big as the Iliad and Odyssey put together.

The huge mass of Sanskrit manuscripts found all over the state in recent years, shows the extent of the scope and variety of Sanskrit texts and studies and their diffusion among the people.

George Buhler who toured the state in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in 1875 when Sanskrit was at its low ebb after the earlier destruction of huge masses of manuscripts by unscrupulous conquerors and tyrannical rulers, found an incredibly large number of works on Vedas, Puranas, Mahatmyas, Poetry, Plays, Fables, Poetics, Grammar, Kusas, Law and Polity, Saiva Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Vaidya Sastras, etc. The discovery of manuscripts on such varied subjects left him amazed. "I must premise", he records, "that I do not pretend to give all that is valuable in them, and I even doubt if any man can sufficiently become master of all the Sastras represented, in order to estimate the books at their proper value".

Another feature of Sanskrit learning in Kashmir was special and exclusive recenssions of some famous and important classics like the Mahabharata and Kalidasa's Sakuntala. Similarly with regard to Bhagwadgita many Kashmiri Pandits wrote commentaries on it. It was in 1930 that Dr. Sherader published a paper on the Kashmirian recenssion of the Gita which evoked considerable interest among scholars. The controversy has in the words of Kunhan Raja, "assumed in the region of Indological studies an importance too big in dimension to be ignored by any serious student. The problem has come to stay".

Not only did the Kashmiri Scholars comment upon the classical works like those of Kalidasa, but they also studied, and wrote commentaries on, important works produced in Sanskrit in the rest of India. For instance the Yudhishtiravijaya, the premier 'Kavya' of Vasudev Bhattatiri of distant Kerala was commented upon by Ramakantha of Kashmir.

No wonder the learned Pandits of Kashmir and their works were in demand at the courts of several enlightened princes in India, at important assemblies of thinkers and writers and at the Sanskrit Universities in the rest of India. And it was the ambition of every student and lover of Sanskrit language and literature and Indian philosophy to go to Kashmir to drink deep at the fountain of knowledge and wisdom that gushed forth from the "Land of Sarada, the Goddess of Learning".

9 Contribution to Sanskrit Literature

Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray

9.1 Foreword

DR. S. C. RAY'S History of Kashmir is an outstanding piece of research on a very important region of India. From at least the third century B. C. Kashmir played a very important part in Indian historical developments. Situated on the borders of Central Asia and always in close contact with the steppe civilisations of Turkestan, it became early in its history, the organised base from which Indian civilisation penetrated into the vast territories lying between China and the Caspian. Notably in the great work of spreading Buddhism, and Sanskrit literature on which Mahayann Buddhism was based, the part played by Kashmir was decisive. The conversion of intermediate kingdom of Kuchi seems to have been the work of Kashmirian scholars. We know from the life of Kumarajiva that it was customary for youngmen of Kuchi to be sent to Kashmir for higher learning. Through Kuchi and Khotan the influence of Kashmirian scholars spread to China and in the list of learned monks from India preserved in the records of China, those from Kashmir hold a high place.

Walled off by high mountains and endowed with unequalled natural beauty, Kashmir remained an inviolate sanctuary of Indian Culture, till at least the 14th century. Buddhism, Saivism and Sanskrit learning flourished in the valley and produced a remarkably rich culture till the Muslim conquest overturned the social structure of Kashmir. The integration of Kashmir life was *so complete that one of his most remarkable books that Kshemendra, who was himself a Saivaite, produced was on the Avadanas of the Buddha, a classic in later Buddhist literature.*

So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned, apart from alankara sastra in which Kashmirians seem to have excelled, the names of Somadeva, Kshemendra, Damodaragupta, Bilhana and Kalhana stand out as a brilliant galaxy of genius adding lustre to the history of Sanskrit literature. Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara, one of the undisputed masterpieces of the world may well be claimed to be the epic of the middle classes, a unique work which almost compensates us for the loss of Gunadhya's original. Of the later poets of Sanskrit the only one who could be compared with him is Hemachandra Suri. Kshemendra was perhaps the most comprehensive mind of his time, who wandered into every field including satire, with distinction. Of Kalhana's Rajatarangini it is unnecessary to say anything as the present Volume bears ample witness to his merit as a historical document. Thus at least till the Muslim conquest of the valley, Kashmir could claim to have been in the vanguard of Indian culture, with notable contributions to every aspect of Indian life

- K. M. Panikkar

Of the earliest Sanskrit compositions of Kashmir, not a single has survived which may be dated with certainty to a period prior to the 6th century A.D. But the highly developed literary style found in the works of the eighth century and onwards must have been the product of a long period of culture. In fact, the *Rajatarangini* speaks of many of these poets who flourished long before and who thought and wrote with ability on different branches of literature. One of them, Vasunanda, a ruler of the valley, is said to have composed a well-known work on erotics *(smarashastra).* No work of Vasunanda is, however, extant. Another Kashmirian named Candaka is said to have been a great poet, though no specific work is attributed to him. It is not unlikely that he is the same Candaka to whom some verses are ascribed in Ballabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. Perhaps, he may be also identical with the writer Candra, mentioned by the Chinese traveller It-sing.

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* deals at some length with the career and activities of one Matrgupta who ruled Kashmir for a while. He was a poet and a contemporary of Pravarasena II (c. A.D. 580) of Kashmir and Vikarmaditya Harsha of Ujjayini (c. 6th century A.D.). Some scholars have endeavoured to prove his identity with the great Kalidasa. The arguments put forward by them may be summed up in the following points:

(1) 'Matr' is same as 'Kali' and 'Gupta' is same as 'Dasa'.

(2) Tradition says that Vikramaditya bestowed half of his kingdom on Kalidasa. This agrees very well with the fact narrated by Kalhana that king Vikramaditya of Ujjain made a gift of Kashmir to Matrgupta.

(3) The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana speaks of a large number of poets, some of whom like Vakpatiraja and Bhavabhuti lived beyond the borders of Kashmir, but it never makes any reference to Kalidasa, who was undoubtedly the most famous of all.

(4) The illustrations of Kalidasa are chiefly derived from the natural beauty of Kashmir; we may presume that he was an inhabitant of that province.

(5) Like Kalidasa, who made a faithful potrayal of his sorrowful feelings of separation from his beloved in the *Meghaduta*, Matrgupta is also known to have lived away from his wife and home.

(6) The verse No. 252 in Book III of the Rajatarangini, the composition of which is ascribed by Kalhana to Matrgupta, runs as follows:

Nakaramudvahasi naiva vikatthase tvain:

ditsam na sucayasi muncasi satphalani /

nih sabdavarsana bhivambudharasya rajan:

samlaksyate phalata eve tava prasadah //

The verse is very similar to verse No. 113 of the *Meghaduta* and conveys the same meaning.

(7) According to tradition, Kalidasa wrote a poem called Setukavya in Prakrt at the request of Pravarasena. Tradition also says that Pravarasena II of Kashmir constructed a bridge of boats across the Vitasta. It is possible that Matrgupta wrote the poem at the request of the Kashmirian king Pravarasena II who occupied the throne of Kashmir, when Matrgupta retired to Banaras.

(8) By astronomical calculations, some writers have tried to prove that Kalidasa lived in the middle of the 6th century A.D. This is in conformity with the date of Matrgupta who, being a contemporary of Vikarmaditya Harsa of Malwa and Pravarasena II of Kashmir, must be assigned to the end of the 6th century.

The reasons in favour of the identification of Matrgupta with Kalidasa, however, are not convincing. It is inexplicable why the Rajatarangini should' refer to Kalidasa by the pseudonym Matrgupta. Anandavardhana and several other Kashmirian writers quote verses from Kalidasa, but never identify him with Matrgupta. In none of the works of Kalidasa there is any mention of Matrgupta. Secondly, Kalhana refers only to such poets as had some connection with the affairs of Kashmir Bhavabhuti and Vakpati are mentioned, as they were court poets of an antagonist of a Kashmirian king. On the other hand, such great poets as Valmiki and Vedavyasa have not been mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. Probably, Kalidasa had never anything to do with the kings of Kashmir and this may be the reason of Kalhana's silence over him. The subject matter of Meghaduta does not invariably indicate that its author lived in separation from his wife. It is not always safe to attribute the events of the life of the hero to the life of the author. The mere similarity in the subject matter of two verses also cannot indicate the identity of their authors. Kalidasa might have written a poem entitled *Setuvandhakavya* at the request of Pravarsena, but this Pravarsena might be the Vakataka king of that name and that would make Kalidasa a contemporary of Vikramaditya Candragupta II. Lastly, the method of reaching at a specified date of history by means of astronomical calculations has not been generally successful. Even if it be a fact that Kalidasa flourished in the middle of the 6th century A.D., that is no sure reason for identifying him with Matrgupta. Matrgupta, however, appears to have been a historical character, who lived in Kashmir, if not at the end of the 6th century A.D., at least in an earlier period. His commentary on Bharata's *Natyasastra* is referred to in Sundaramisra's *Natyapradipa*. Ksemendra quotes the opinions of Matrgupta in one of his works. Some of the verses have also found place in Vallabhadeva's anthology.

In the *Rajatarangini*, Kalhana tells his readers that king Matrgupta honoured the poet Mentha, for composing the poem *Hayagrivavadha*, by presenting a golden dish to be placed below it, lest its flavour might escape. Honoured by such an appreciation Bhartrmentha thought richer rewards needless. The

poem Hayagrivavdha is lost. The date of Mentha is also not known for certain. But Mentha or Bhartrmentha seems to have been a person of fame. He receives the honour of being placed second in the spiritual lineage of Valmiki. The Kashmirian writer Mankha places him with Subandhu, Bharavi and Bana. The first verse of his great poem *Hayagrivavadha* which runs as

asiddaityo hayagrivah suhrdvesmasu yasya tah /

prathayanti valam vahyoh sitacchatramitah sriyah //

is quoted by Rajasekhara in his *Kavyamimamsa* and by Ksemendra in his *Suvrttatilaka*. Some verses are extracted under Mentha or Hastipaka's name in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali* and other anthologies. Dr. Bhau Daji finds one of his verses occuring in Raghava's commentary of *Sakuntala*.

Some verses are attributed to Gonanda, Gopaditya and Ranaditya in the *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* and in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. Are they to be identified with the Kashmirian kings of their names mentioned in Kalhana's Rajatarangini ? Unfortunately, we have nothing against which we can check the evidence and prove or reject such a theory.

Candragomin, the founder of the Candra school of Sanskrit grammar, probably lived in Kashmir. According to Kalhana's evidence, Candracarya revived the study of the *Mahabhasya* and composed his own grammar during the reign of king Abhimanyu. Bhartrhari mentions Baiji, Sauva and Haryaksa, who lived before Candracarya and who by their uncritical methods did much to push the *Mahabhasya* to the background. A later Tibetan work records the censure of Patanjali's work by Candragomin. It is thus quite likely that Candracarya and Candragomin are identical persons.

Kalhana's testimony does not give any clue regarding the date of Candragomin. But it is clear from his statement that the grammarian flourished long before the advent of the Karkotas. His Buddhistic title 'gamin' and the *Mangalasloka* of his *vrtti* in which he pays reverence to Sarvajna, tend to prove that Candragomin was a follower of Buddha. This literature recasts the work of Panini and reduces the master's eight chapters into six of four sections each. He often rearranges and simplifies Panini. But excepting thirty-five new *sutras*, there is nothing much original in his work.

Kalhana says that while writing the *Rajatarangini*, he received considerable informations regarding the earlier periods from a work entitled the *Nilamatapurana*. The date of the *Nilamatapurana* is uncertain. But Kalhana's reference to it as a work of high antiquity may suggest a date earlier than the accession of the Karkotas. The mention of Buddha in the work as an incarnation of Visnu has led some scholars to assign the book not much earlier than the 7th century A.D.

The *Nilamatapurana* describes at great length how Kashmir was created out of water and left to the care of the Nagas of whom Nila was the chief. Kashmir, according to this work, was Sati transformed into land. At Vasuki's request, Visnu agreed to apportion the great lake of the land of Sati as a dwelling place for the Nagas, where they would be safe from Garuda. Visnu further ordered Garuda to make Nila, the chief of all Nagas.

At that time, a water demon named Jalodbhava was causing great trouble by killing the inhabitants of Darvabhisa, Gandhara, Jalamdhara and other neighbouring regions. Nila went to his father Kasyapa and asked him to devise means by which the wicked demon could be got rid of. At the request of Kasyapa, the gods came down to Kashmir to fight the water demon and Visnu ultimately slew him.

Next the *Nilamatapurana* relates how Kashmir came to be inhabited by human beings. After the valley was recovered, people could at first live for only six months and during the rest of the year, the country was occupied by the Pisacas under their king Nikumbha. Nikumbha left the valley with the whole of his army at the beginning of spring to fight the goblins of the ocean of sands. Then the men came to Kashmir, lived during the summer and after gathering their harvest left the valley before the advent of the winter when the Pisaca king returned and when no human being could live in the valley due to excessive cold. This continued for four yugas. Then a Brahmana, Candradeva by name, did not leave the valley during the winter and spent the season in the sub-terranean palace of Nila, the king of the Nagas. Candradeva prayed before Nila that in future people should be allowed to live in Kashmir during the winter also, to

which the Naga king agreed. Nila furthermore declared to the Brahmana the rites which were to be observed by the future inhabitants. Henceforth, there was no more any excessive snow-fall or trouble from the Pisacas and slowly men came to live in the valley throughout the year.

The rites proclaimed by Nila are very similar to the socio-religious ceremonies and festivals observed in the plains of India. There can be little doubt that the *Nilamatapurana* is a handbook of rites and ceremonies which were observed by the people of ancient Kashmir. But besides being a handbook of rites and ceremonies, it is also 'a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends which are required in order to explain the *Rajatarangini* and that it shows how Kalhana used his sources' and it is here that the greatest importance of the work lies.

In addition to the *Nilamatapurana*, there are other texts of a somewhat similar pattern, known as *mahatmyas*, which also are useful for the interpretation of various legends connected with the sacred sites of Kashmir. The exact date of composition of the numerous *Sthanamahatmyas* that put forward the false claim that they were extracted from the *Puranas* cannot be determined with certainty. But though they use many old materials, in their present form they seem to belong to a comparatively later period. At least there is nothing to prove that this bulk of literary works were composed in the pre-Muslim Kashmir.

Kalhana's very frequent references to numerous Kashmirian authors and their works enable us to follow the history of Sanskrit literature of Kashmir with tolerable accuracy from the 8th century onwards. The works of many of the writers themselves have also survived and some of these contain valuable informations about other foregoing and contemporary writers and their compositions. Vallabhadeva's (15th century A.D.) *Subhasitavali* which is an anthology of verses compiled from the writings of various poets of ancient India and particularly of Kashmir, is also a very valuable work which helps a lot to trace the early literary history of the valley.

Of the poets of the Karkota period, Kalhana mentions Damodaragupta, Manoratha, Sankhadatta, Cataka and Samdhimat who flourished in the court of king Jayapida. Damodaragupta is said to have written a book called *Kuttanimata* Kavya. This work has survived. It is a practical treatise on erotica. Full of interesting stories, the book incidentally throws a flood of light on the contemporary social life. Several verses of Manoratha seem to occur in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. About the other three poets Sankhadatta, Cataka and Samdhimat, nothing is known. In the reign of the Karkota king Ajitapida, there lived a poet named Sankuka who composed a poem called *Bhuvanabhyudaya*. The theme of the book was centred round the conflict between the regents Mamma and Utpalaka. The work has not come down but quotations from it are presented in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. Sankuka's verse has also been quoted in *Sarngadharapaddhati* and *Suktimaktavali*, and there his father's name has been given as Mayura. Further, the name of Sankuka has been referred to in the fourth chapter of the *Kavynprakasa* and his opinion on a point of poetics is considered authoritative.

It is quite likely that some of the Karkota kings themselves cultivated the art of poetry; fragments of poems written by Muktapida and Jayapida are presentedin *Subhnsitavali.*

The early Kashmirians were as distinguished in the field of poetics as in poetry and the Karkota period produced some great writers on the subject. The oldest of them is Bhamaha, son of Rakrilagomin. Probably he lived in the beginning of the 8th century. Bhamaha's *Kavyalamkara* is the earliest work of poetics which has come down to us. It contains 398 verses and is divided into six chapters which deal with such topics as *kavyasarira, alamkara, dosa, nyaya* and *sabdasuddhi*.

Whether Bhamaha was a Buddhist or not, has been a matter of much controversy among historians. The *Kamadhenu* and the *Vrttaratnakarn* quote some verses from Bhamaha which are not found in the *Kavyalamkara*. Some of these verses indicate that Bhamaha wrote a book on metrics also. Bhamaha's views and writings have been quoted by Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammata, and Vamana. Udbhata, the court poet of Jayapida appears to have written a gloss on his *Kavyalamkara-samgraha* named *Bhamahavivarna,* but the work is not extant.

Udbhata was a reputed writer on *alamkara*. Besides *Bhamahavivarna*, he wrote an independent treatise, the *Alamkarasamgraha*. In six chapters and in seventy nine *karikas*, it defines forty-one types of figures

of speech. Udbhata wrote a poem too, entitled the Kumarasambhava. The work has not survived, but some verses from it are found in his Alamkarasamgraha.

Udbhata's contemporary was Vamana, another writer on poetics, who also adorned the court of Jayapida. His *Kavyalamkarasutra* is divided into five chapters and deals with the whole sphere of *alamkara-sastra*. According to Vamana, the soul of the poetry is the style *(riti).*

Lollata, who according to the evidence of Abhinavagupta, controverted the view of Udbhata, might have lived in the beginning of the 9th century. He seems to have championed the theory of *rasa*. None of his works has come down, but he is credited by Abhinavagupta and other later writers with the authorship of a commentary on Bharata. Some of his verses are quoted by Mammata and Hemacandra. From quotations preserved by Abhinavagupta it appears that Sankuka criticized his theories on *rasa*. It is not clear whether this Sankuka is the author who wrote *Bhuvanabhyndaya* composed during the reign of Ajitapida.

The Karkota rule was supplanted by that of the Utpalas. Among the poets of this age, Kalhana mentions Muktakana, Sivasvamin, Anandavardhana and Ratnakara who obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/ 56-883).

Sivasvamin, also known as Bhatta Sivasvamin, was an ardent follower of Buddha. He wrote a poem named *Kapphinabhyudaya*, describing the expedition of Kapphina, king of Daksinapatha against Prasenajit of Sravasti. At the end of the war, which resulted in his victory, Kapphina accepted Buddhism and renounced his worldly attachments. Some of the verses of Sivasvamin are quoted in Ksemendra's *Kavikanthabharana* and Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. Otherwise, Muktakana is known only from quotations preserved in Ksemendra's *Kavikanthabharana* and *Suvrttatilaka*. Ratnakara has been identified with the author of the great *Kavya* named *Haravijaya*, an enormous epic in fifty cantos which describes the defeat of demon Andhaka in the hands of Siva. From the colophon of the work, it seems that Ratnakara whose full name is given as Rajanaka Ratnakara Vagisvara composed the poem during the reign of king Brhaspati Cippata Jayapida, who, according to Kalhana, died forty years before the accession of Avantivarman. It is possible that Ratnakara started his career under Cippata Jayapida but was patronised also by Avantivarman. Besides the *Haravijaya Kavya*, Ratnakara is credited with the composition of two smaller poems, *Vakroktipancasika* and *Dhavnigatha pancika*. Some of his verses have found place in Ksemendra's *Suvrttatilaka*, in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali* and in the *Sarngadharapaddhati*. The fame of Ratnakara seems to have spread outside and the poet Rajasekhara praises him for his vast learning and wealth of imagery.

The fame of Anandavardhana rests principally on his treatise on the science of poetics. His great work *Dhvanyaloka*, Kavyaloka or *Sahrdayaloka* is a commentary in four chapters on certain verses treating *dhvani* as the soul of poetry. Abbinavagupta's elucidation on it, the *Locana*, has given the work a wide reputation. Besides *Dhvanyaloka*, Anandavardhna composed several poems in Sanskrit and in Prakrt. His *Devisataka* is a lyric written in praise of Parvati. The other poetical compositions are *Arjunacaritamahakavya* (Sanskrit), *Visamavanalila, Harivijaya* (both Prakrt) and *Matapariksa*.

In the same period as Anandavardhna, seem to have lived three other reputed rhetoricians of Kashmir, Rudrata, Mukula and Induraja.

Rudrata, also called Satananda was the son of Vamana. His *Kavyalamkara* in 16 chapters deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense. He represents the *alamkara* school and is opposed to the theory of Vamana that *riti* is the soul of poetry.

According to Jacobi, Rudrata lived during Avantivarman's reign and the example of Vakrokti given by Rudrata (II, 15) was prompted by Ratnakara in his *Vakroktipancasika*. Rudrata was not the author of the *Srngaratilaka* as some scholars have presumed; the book was written by Rudrabhatta.

Mukula was the son of the famous Saiva philosopher Bhatta Kallata who lived in the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). His *Abhidhavrttimatrka* deals with the theory of various rhetoricians on *abhidha*, the 'appellative power' residing in words.

Induraja, also known as Pratiharenduraja, was a pupil of Mukula. He was born in Konkan, but afterwards migrated to Kashmir. Only one work, written by him, has come to us. It is a commentary on Udbhata's *Kavyalamkara* and is entitled the *Kavyalamkarasaralaghuvrtti*.

We learn from Kalhana that a poet named Bhallata lived in the reign of Samkaravarman. An extant work named *Bhallatasataka* evidently belongs to him. Verses from this work have been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra and Mammata. Some passages from this work also occur in the *Sarngadharapaddhati* and in the Subhasitavali.

Another contemporary litteratuer of Samkaravarman was Jayanta Bhatta. Three books of Jayanta Bhatta have so far been recovered. They are the *Nyayamanjari*, the *Nyayakalika* and the *Agamadambara*. All of them are standard works on *nyayasastra*. In the *Nyayamanjari* and *Agamadambara*, Jayanta Bhatta mentions the name of king Samkaravarman. So he can not be placed earlier than that monarch (A.D. 88.3-902). Then, the author of the *Kadambari*, Abhinanda, who was Jayanta's son, says that Jayanta's great grandfather was a minister of Lalitaditya. Lalitaditya reigned about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Jayanta, being four generations removed from Lalitaditya, could not possibly have lived much later than the last quarter of the 9th century A.D.

It is not unlikely that king Samkaravarman himself also composed several poems. In the chapters on coinage it has been noted that another name of Samkaravarman was Yasovarman. A lost drama entitled *Ramabhyndaya*, written by one Yasovarman, which is cited by Anandavardhana in his *Dhvanyaloka*, perhaps belongs to him. Some verses, written by a poet called Yasovarman are also preserved in the *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* and *Subhasitavali*. Possibly they were written by Samkaravarman alias Yasovarman.

The poet who comes next is Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhatta, whose *Kadambari-kathasara* isa metrical summary of Bana's prose romance. Abhinanda traces his ancestry from Sakti, who was originally an inhabitant of the Gauda country but afterwards migrated from his native province and settled in Kashmir. From Abhinavagupta's mention of poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta at the end of the 10th century and from the fact that Abhinanda's father Jayanta was a contemporary of Samkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), it may be inferred that Abhinanda lived in the first part of the 10th century. Although Abhinanda mentions one of his ancestors as an inhabitant of Gauda, it is not clear whether he is the same as Gauda-Abhinanda, whose verses are quoted in the *Sarngadharapaddhati*. Some of the anthologies such as *Sarngadharapaddhati*, Kavindravacanasamuccaya, Saduktikarnamrta and *Suktimuktavali* quote verses written by an Abhinanda and not Gauda-Abhinanda. The *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* which refers to him can not be assigned to a period later than the 10th century. So Abhinanda of the anthologies could not have been much removed from the author of the *Kathasara*. But it is not known whether this Abhinanda of the anthologies is identical with Gauda Abhinanda or with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta. The author of the *Kathasara*, however, must be distinguished from another Abhinanda, the son of Satananda and the writer of an epic called *Ramacarita.* The name of Abhinanda has been mentioned and his poem *Kadambari-kathasara* has been held in high esteem by some later Kashmirian writers.

As already noted in the chapter on religion, Kashmir was a land par excellence of the Saiva faith and it had developed a particular system of Sivaite philosophy based on the principle of idealistic monism *(advaita).* The earliest writers, who propounded and expanded this doctrine, belonged to the Utpala period. The exact date of Vasugupta, the founder of the Kashmir Saivism is not known for certain. But as his disciple Kallata lived at the end of the 9th century A.D., he also may be placed near about the same period. Most of his works are now lost. His *Spandamrta* has probably been incorporated in the *Spandakarikas* and his commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita* called the *Vasavi-Tika* may perhaps be traced in the first six chapters of another *Tika* on the *Bhagavad Gita* called *Lasaki*, by Rajanaka Lasakaka. About the personality and lineage of Vasugupta, all that we learn from his pupils is that he lived in his retirement as a holy sage in the Sadarhadvana (Harwan).

According to Kalhana's evidence, Bhatta Kallata 'descended to the earth for the benefit of the people' at the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). He was a pupil of Vasugupta and wrote a commentary

called *Spandasarvasva*, on his teacher's *Spandamrta*. It is still extant. He was also the author of the *Spandakarikas*, an exposition on the work of Vasugupta. His two other books, the *Tatvartha-Cintamani* and the *Madhuvahini*, are now lost. Both of them were commentaries on the Siva Sutras.

The next author on Saiva philosophy was Somananda. He wrote *Sivadrsti* and a *Vrtti* on it in which he marshalled philosophical reasonings in support of Vasugupta's teachings. Abhinavagupta, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the first part of the 11th century, was fourth in succession from Somananda in a line of spiritual tutelage. Somananda, therefore, might have flourished towards the end of the 9th century. Somananda was most probably a pupil of Vasugupta.

Somananda's disciple Utpala was the author of as many as six works. These were *Pratyabhijuakarikas, Vrtti* on it, *Tika* on it (lost), *Isvara-siddhi, Ajadapramatr-siddhi* and *Stotravali*. He possibly flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century.

Utpalacarya's pupil Ramakantha (c. A.D. 925) wrote a work entitled the *Spandavivrti*. He is also credited with the composition of two commentaries, one on the Matanga Tantra and the other on the *Bhagavad Gita*. None of the commentaries, however, has come down to us.

In the later part of the 10th century, comes Mahamahesvara Abhinavagupta. A prolific writer, he obtained as great a reputation in the field of poetics as in *Saivadarsana*. From a study of the concluding portions of his two works, *Tantraloka* and *Paratrimsikavivarana*, we learn that he was born in a reputed Brahmana family. His grandfather was Varahagupta, his father was Narasimhagupta alias Cukhala, and his younger brother was Manorathagupta. In quest of learning, he travelled over various parts of Kashmir and also visited many places outside the valley. Among his teachers were Bhattenduraja, Laksmanagupta and Bhatta Tauta.

Abhinavagupta wrote as many as forty one books, some of which exist, while several are known only by name. His *Locana is* an extremely profound and difficult commentary on Anandavardhana's *Dhranyaloka*. His *Natyalocana* and *Abhinavabharati* are commentaries on Bharata's *Natyasastra*. Among works other than those of Saiva philosophy, he composed *Bhairavastotra*, Mohopadesavimsati, Kramastotra and *Ghatakarparavivrti*. His more important works on Saiva philosophy include *Para-Trimsikavivarana, Siva-Drstyalocana, Pratyabhijnavimarsini, Pratyabhijnavivrti Vimarsini, Tantraloka, Tantrasara, Paramarthasara* and *Malinivijayavaritika.*

Abhinava's literary career extended over a quarter of a century from the year 4066 (the date of composition of *Kramastotra*) to the year 4090 (the date of composition of the *Brhat Pratyabhijnavimarsini)* of the Laukika era, i.e. A.D. 990-1014. In view of the fact that his literary career started in a fairly mature age, his date of birth may be placed sometime between A.D. 950 and 960.

Not long after Abhinavagupta, came Mahimabhatta, the rhetorician. In his Vyakitiviveka, he controverted the *Dhvani* theory of Abhinavagupta. He was a champion of the *Anumana* theory of *Rasa* and according to him all that pass by the name of *Dhvani* are really cases of inference. Mahimabhatta's attempt to kill the theory of *Dhvani*, however, seems to have apparently failed as it could not convince the later writers who often quote him but only to refute his theory.

Mahimabhatta quotes Abhinavagupta who lived at least upto A.D. 1014. His own works have been reviewed by Mammata, whose approximate date is the middle of the 11th century. Mahima thus flourished between the two. Mahimabhatta's preceptor Syamala has been referred to by Ksemendra, who lived between 1014 and 1066. This also agrees well with the view that Mahimabhatta lived in the first half of the 11th century.

Mahimabhatta wrote another book, the *Tattvoktikosa*, in which he discussed the nature of *Pratibha*.

Ksemendra, the next great litterateur 'was not a man to hide his light under a bushel, and he has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time'. He was born in a well-to-do family. His father's name was Prakasendra and grandfather's name Sindhu. By birth he was a Saiva but laterly, under the teachings of Somacarya Bhagavata, he became Vaisnava.

His course of studies seems to have comprised all the sciences and arts then known in Kashmir. He had a thorough knowledge of mathematics, astrology, medicine, surgery, politics, erotica, and Buddhist philosophy. Ksemendra says that he left the company of dry logicians and grammarians but studied all the lexicons of his time. He was particularly fond of songs, *gathas*, novels and interesting conceits of poetry.

Ksemendra is silent about the date of his birth. But he says in his *Bharata-Manjari* that he studied literature with Abhinavagupta, author of the *Vidyavivrti* of the *Pratyabhijna- Vrhativimarsini*. As Abhinavagupta composed his famous commentary on *Pratayabhijna* philosophy in A.D. 1014 it is apparent that Ksemendra was born much earlier. His *Dasavataracarita* was composed in the Laukika year 4141 or A.D. 1066. Probably he lived a littler longer.

Ksemendra was a versatile genius. He wrote poems, narratives, didactic and satiric sketches and treatises on rhetoric and prosody. His *Bharatamanjari, Ramayanamanjari, Brhathathamanjari, Padyakadambari* (lost) and *Avadanakalpalat*a are, respectively, the abstracts of the two great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, Gunadhya *Brhatkatha*, Bana's Kadambari and the Buddhist *Avadanas*. All these were written in verse. Among his other works, known only by name, are *Sasivamsamahakavya, Amrtarangakavya, Avasarasara, Muktavali Vatsyayana-sutra-sara, Lalitaratnamale, Kanakajanaki, Nrpavali, Lavanyavati* and *Pavanapancasika*. His known and printed works include *Nitikalpataru, Carucarya, Desopadesa, Narmamala, Nitilata, Vinayavalli. Darpadalana, Sevyasevakopadesa, Munimatamimamsa, Caturvarga-Samgraha Aucityavicaracarca Kavikanthabharana* and *Dasavataracarita.*

In *Samayamatrka*, one of his most original poems, he describes the arts and trickeries of the harlot. The merit of the work lies in its vivid description of droll life painted with great sharpness of phrasing and characterisation. His *Sevyasevakopadesa* contains shrewd reflection on the relation between master and servant. The *Carucarya*, a century of moral aphorisms, gives a pleasing picture of virtue's ways of pleasantness in contemporary Kashmir. The *Caturvargasamgraha* deals with the four objects of human life, *dharma, arthal, kama* and *moksa*. The *Darpadalana* is a denunciatory harrangue against human pride which is said to have sprung from birth, wealth, learning, beauty, velour, charity and asceticism. They are dealt separately in each chapter with illustrations on each type of boaster. The *Kalavilasa* is a satirical poem of ten cantos in which Muladeva, the legendary master of trickery instructs his young disciple in the arts of roguery. Ksemendra's *Desopadesa* and *Narmamala*, like *Kalavilasa*, also represent his satirical proclivity of mind. In the former, he dilates upon the daily life of different depraved sections of people inhabiting the valley such as cheat, miser, prostitute, bawd, ostentatious voluptuary students of Gauda, old man marrying young wives, degraded Saiva Guru, the ignorant grammarians etc. The *Narmamala* is a sharp satire on the misrule and oppression of the Kayasthas, before the time of Ananta. In his *Aucityavicaracarca,* Ksemendra tries to propound that propriety or *aucitya is* the soul of poetry and the figures of speech, if they overstep their proper limits, hurt the *rasa*. In the *Kavikanthabharana* he discuses with the subjects of *kavitvaprapti, siksa, camatkrti, gunadosabodha* and *paricayaprapti*. Ksemendra's *Dasavataracarita* gives in regular *Kavya* style, an account of the ten incarnations of Visnu, viz., Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Nrsimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Rama, Krsna, Buddha and Karkya, which is nothing but an abstraction of the Puranic stories.

Mammatabhatta, the rhetorician, seems to have been a later contemporary of Ksemendra. He refers to Abhinavagupta, Mahimabhatta and king Bhoja and as such must have lived in or about A.D. 1050. Though a native of Kashmir, he took his early education at Benaras. He was a Saiva by faith and was also a staunch supporter of the grammarian school. His *Kavyaprakasa*, a superb work of compilation is divided into ten sections *(ullasa).* It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, deals with the merits and demerits of poetry, the junctions of different words and their sources and the figures of speech. But Mammata was not only a compiler, he was a critic too. He champions the theory of *dhvani* and attacks the views of Bhamaha, Bhattodbhata, Vamana, Rudrata, Mahimabhatta and others.

Ruyyaka, in his *Samketa* commentary says that Mammata could not finish his work, and it was completed by somebody else. This view receives support from other commentators as well and Rajanaka Ananda, in his commentary, says that Mammata wrote up to *parikara alamkara* and the remaining portion was

written by Allata. The *Kavyaprakasa* has two parts *karikas* and *vrtti.* According to some authorities, the *karikas* were written by Bharata and the *vrtti* by Mammata. Mammata wrote another book entitled the *Savdavyaparacarca*, on the derivation and functions of words.

Somadeva, the author of the *Kathasaritsagara*, was another later contemporary of Ksemendra. He composed his work for the amusement of Suryamati, the mother of king Kalasa and grandmother of Harsa. Evidently, it was written sometime between A.D. 1063 and 1089 when Kalasa was on the throne and Suryamati was still alive. The main theme of Somadeva's work, like Ksemendra's *Brhatkathmanjari*, seems to be the adventures of Naravahanadatta, son of Udayana and his final attainment of Madanamanjarika as his wife and the land of the Vidyadharas as his kingdom. A large number of tales, legends and witty stories is dovetailed into the principal narrative, which indeed make the collection an ocean of the streams of stories. It consists of 18 books of 124 chapters and more than 21,000 verses. Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara* is generally said to have been adopted from Gunadhya's *Brhatkatha* written in Paisaci dialect. But the Kashmirian *Brhatkatha,* from which both Ksemendra and Somadeva drew their inspiration, was most probably not the *Brhatkatha* of Gunadhya. It seems to have been an old Kashmirian version of the same, which had undergone many changes. This is apparent from the comparative evidence of the contents of the two Kashmirian versions, and from their divergency with the Nepal edition of the *Brhatkatha,* the *Brhatkathaslokasamgraha* of Buddhasvamin.

About the same period as Ksemendra, also lived Ksemaraja, the writer on Shaiva philosophy. Both of them were pupils of Abhinavagupta and as such Ksemaraja seems to have flourished about the beginning of the 11th century. Continuing the labours of his master, Ksemaraja wrote a number of works on Kashmir Shaivism. The chief extant works of his are *Pratyabhijna-Hrdaya, Spanda Sandaha, Spanda Nirnaya, Svacchandoddyota, Netradyota, Vijnana-Bhairavaddvota, Siva-Sutra*-Vrtti, *Siva-Sutra Vimarsini, Stava-Cintamanitika, Utpalastotravalitika, Para-Pravesika* and *Tattva Sandoha.*

Another Shaivaite writer, Bhaskara, who was five generations removed from Kallata in a direct line of spiritual descent, was probably a contemporary of Ksemaraja. He embodied in his *Shiva Sutra-Varttika* the teachings of Vasugupta. Ksemendra's pupil Yogaraja may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century. He started his studies with Abhinavagupta and wrote a commentary on his *Paramarthasara*.

The poet who followed next was Bilhana. From the last canto of his *Vikramankadevacarita* we learn that he was born at Khonamusa, near Pravarapura, of a pious and learned Madbyadesi Brahmana family. His father was Jyesthakalasa and mother was Nagadevi. Bilhana received his early education at Kashmir and obtained proficiency in grammar and poetics. At the time of the nominal accession of Kalasa, when Ananta was still alive, he left Kashmir and set out on his wanderings in quest of fame and fortune. The places which he visited were Mathura, Kanyakabja, Prayaga, and Varanasi. At the court of Krsna of Dahala, he stayed for sometime and probably w rote a poem in honour of Rama. On leaving Dahala the poet visited Western India, attracted by the fame of the courts of Dhara and Anhilwad and the sanctity of Somnath Pathan. For some reason not stated, he did not go to Bhoja of Dhara. After spending sometime at Anhilwad, Bilhana embarked from there for southern India and visited Ramesvara. On his way back, he reached the court of Kalyana, where the Calukya king Vikramaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1076-1127) admired him and made him his Vidyapati. From the last verses of the *Vikramankadevacarita*, it appears that latterly he fell into disfavour with Vikramaditya VI and had to leave his kingdom. Does it account for the incomplete narrative of Bilhana which stops with Vikramadiya's Chola war and never refers to his activities beyond the Narmada in 1088?

The *ViEramankadevsacarita* is a poem of 18 cantos which glorifies king Vikramaditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyana. It opens with an eulogistic account of the Calukya dynasty. Then the exploits of king Vikramaditya's father are described at some length. At the end the poet comes to Vikramaditya VI and depicts with usual amplifications 'the conquests of Vikramaditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Somesvara II, his defeat and capture of his younger brother and his numerous wars with the faithless Cholas.' Though Bilhana has taken a historical theme for his subject matter, his work, in all its essentials, is a *kavya* and not a history.

His *Karnasundari* was written as a compliment to the Calukya Karnadeva of Anhilwad whose marriage with a princess it delineates, under the guise of a romantic tale.

Another poem, *Cauri* or *Cauru-Surata-Pancasika*, which is of unknown date and authorship is generally ascribed to Bilhana. The poem consists of fifty amatory verses, sung in the first person, on the topic of secret love. In one of the South Indian versions, a text called *Bilhana Kavya* is attached to the poem, which says that Bilhana repeated these verses when, caught in a secret intrigue with the daughter of a king, he was going to be executed. These glowing verses uttered by the poet moved the king who ordered his release and gave his daughter in marriage with him. But the story differs widely in different versions. Similar tales are told about other poets and the place of occurrence of the alleged incident also varies. Under these circumstances, it seems that the *Caura Kavi* was not identical with Bilhana. The stanzas of *Caurapancasika* were probably some floating verses of unknown authorship which were ascribed to' different writers in different periods.

Not long after Bilhana, came the poet Sambhu,, who lived in the court of king Harsa. His *Rajendra Karnapura* isa high flown panegyric eulogising his patron and his *Anyokti-maktalata* is a collection of, verses on various topics indicating indirect meaning.

The First Lohara dynasty came to an end with the death of Harsa and the second year of the 12th century marked the accession of the Second Lohara dynasty on Kashmir throne. Among the litterateurs who received patronage of this court, were the celebrated poets Jalhana, Mankha and Kalhana.

Jalhana was a contemporary of Uccala. We learn from Mankha that when Sussala acceded to the throne after Uccala's death, he left the valley and went to the court of Rajapuri. There he wrote a poem called *Somapalavilasa* on the history of the king Somapala. His *Mugdhopadesa* is a poem ethical in character.

Mankha or Mankhaka wrote his poem *Srikanthacarita* between the years A.D. 1135 and A.D. 1145. The theme of the work is the Puranic legend of Shiva's overthrow of Tripura. But besides the story of Tripura's defeat, several cantos are employed in describing the usual accessories allowed in *kavyas*, the seasons, the sunsets, the sunrises, court scenes, amusements etc. In the third canto the author gives an account of his family from which we learn that his grandfather's name was Manmatha and his father was Visvavrata. He had three other brothers Srngara, Bhanga and Alamkara, all employed as state officials. Mankha himself held high office under Jayasimha but it is unknown what his designation was. The twenty-fifth or last canto of the *Srikanthacarita* is particularly interesting as it gives the names of thirty contemporary scholars, poets and officials who assembled at the house of Alamkara on the occasion of the completion and public reading of the poem. Though as a pupil of the famous rhetorician Ruyyaka, Mankha shows some cleverness in the rhetorical ornaments, it must be admitted that his work lacks lucidity of expression, freshness and variety.

A dictionary called *Mankhakosa* is current in Kashmir. It is not known whether the writer of the *Srikanthacarita* is also the author of this lexicon.

As already noted, Mankha mentions some of his contemporary poets in the last canto of his book. They are Ananda (XXV, 84), Kalyana (XXV, 80), Garga (XXV, 50), Govinda (XXV, 77), Jalhana (XXV, 75), Patu (XXV, 131), Padmaraja (XXV, 86), Bhudda (XXV, 82), Losthadeva (XXV, 36), Vagisvara (XXV, 127), Srigarbha (XXV, 50) and Srivatsa (XXV, 82). Jalhana has been already referred to. About the rest, nothing else is known from any other source.

Kalhana, the celebrated poet-historian of Kashmir was the son of a high functionary of the State. His father Canpaka was the *'dvarapati'* or 'Commandant of the frontier passes' during the reign of king Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101). Kalhana's ambition of life was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kashmir. When Jayasimha became king after the death of Sussala (A.D. 1127), Kalhana became his court-poet. He composed his *Rajatarangini* between the years 1149-50.

According to tradition. Kalhana wrote another poem *Jayasimhabhyudaya*, probably an eulogy of his patron, king Jayasimha of Kashmir. The book has not yet been discovered but a verse from this poem has been quoted in *Ratnakathasarasamuccaya*

Though Kalhana does not say anything about his own caste, he seems to be a Brahmana. His vast learning as expressed in the *Rajatarangini* accords well with the reputation generally enjoyed by the Brahmin *pandits* of Kashmir. Kalhana's sympathy towards the Brahmanas, as revealed in the pages of the *Rajatarangini*, also tends to show that he was probably a Brahmana. Every doubt in this regard is dispelled by Jonaraja, the writer of the *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*, who calls Kalhana clearly as *'dvija'*. Kalhana was a Shaiva in his religious belief. In the *Rajatarangini,* he pays his devotion in the opening verse of each *taranga* to the Lord Shiva and his consort Gauri.

The *Rajatarangini* consists of eight books or *tarangas*. The first book deals with the Gonanda dynasty, several local rulers, Ashoka and his successors, the Turuskas i.e. the Kusanas and the Hunas. Book II treats of a line of Kashmir rulers, unconnected with Gonanda's dynasty. The third book begins with the restoration of the Gonanda dynasty and mentions several rulers among whom Pravarasena and perhaps Toramana may be recognized as historical figures. Book IV starts with the accession of the Karkota dynasty. Some of the kings belonging to this dynasty, are also known from other sources. The Karkota dynasty was overthrown by the Utpalas. The history of the Utpala dynasty occupies the fifth book of Kalhana. The sixth *taranga* of the *Rajatarangini* describes Kashmir under the descendants of Viradeva and Abhinava. The seventh book opens with the accession of Samgramaraja of the Lohara kingdom to the throne of Kashmir and ends with the dethronement and death of Harsa. The dynasty to which these rulers belonged is regarded as the First Lohara dynasty. The eighth book starts with the accession of the second Lohara dynasty and gives a long account of the reigns of Uccala, Sussala and Sussala's son Jayasimha, the reigning sovereign of Kalhana's time. Though the *Rajatarangini* is a literary production of high merit, it will not be doing justice to Kalhana, if we regard his poem simply as a *mahakavya*. It is an admirable collection of historical facts presented in an illuminating garb of poetry and soars in the region of fine art. History takes wings from the inimitable pen of Kalhana.

Kalhana generally indicates the materials which he used for his narrative. He mentions several previous writers on the history of Kashmir. Among these were Suvrata 'whose work', he says, 'was made difficult by misplaced learning; Ksemendra who drew up a list of kings, *Nrpavali*, of which however, no part was free from mistakes; Nilamuni, who wrote the *Nilamatapurana*; Helaraja, who composed a list of kings, in twelve thousand verses; and Srimihira or Padmamihira, and the author *Sri* Chavillakara'. His own work was based on eleven collections of Rajakathas or stories about kings and on the works of Nilamuni. He further tells us that he took the help of many inscriptions, grants and manuscripts to write his book.

Some of the sources mentioned above, which Kalhana used for his narrative, were themselves of uncertain historical character. Hence the early part of his work, especially the first-three books of the *Rajatarangini* have become a conglomeration of history and vague legends. The poet-historian, however, shows more precision from the fourth book onwards for which he had probably at his disposal, materials of a truly historical character, presumably coins and inscriptions, as well as other indigenous sources. The seventh and eighth books of the *Rajatarangini* are graphic and full of facts. The reason is not far to seek, Kalhana was a contemporary of the monarchs of the eighth book and for the history of Harsha and other immediately preceding rulers, he has most probably informations from his father and other older contemporaries.

Inspite of the lack of historical materials in the early portions of his work, Kalhana's splendour of imagination, depth and range of thought and above all the power of centralizing many talents to a single purpose, had given his *Rajatarangini* a literary immortality. Among the special merits of Kalhana as a historian, Stein mentions his impartiality and independence, individuality of his characters, accuracy of geneological statements, high sense of historical truthfulness in later parts of the Chronicle and exactness of topographical details. To these may be added his rare sense of appreciation of the philosophy of history, a quality rare among the writers of the past. Kalhana's account is not written to enforce an particular lesson. He lets his tale tell itself in the deeds and words of those who act it out. This of course does not mean that he confines himself to a mere report. Beside the narrator stands the thinker, explaining the facts by causes and reasons, exposing the principles which underlie them. But he does not use the

facts to illustrate his thesis, much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them.

We realise the qualities of Kalhana more fully as we pass from him to his continuator, Jonaraja. Jonaraja's account also is clear and authentic, but in it, one misses, the mind of a great historian.

The rhetorician Ruyyaka seems to have been a contemporary of Kalhana. He quotes from Mankha's *Srikanthacarita* which is said to have been composed between A.D. 1135 and 1145. On the other hand the *Kavyaprakasasamketa* of Manikyacandra written between A.D. 1159-60 refers to Ruyyaka's *Alamkarasarvasva*. It is thus evident that Ruyyaka flourished between A.D. 1135 and 1160. *His Alamkarasarvasva* isa standard work on figures of speech. His other works include *Sahrdayalila*, 'a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formula in four chapters', and *Alamkaranusarini*, a commentary on Jalhana's *Somapalavilasa*.

Among the minor works which were composed during the last days of the Hindu rule, mention may be made of *Haracaritacintamani* of Jayadratha. It was probably written in the 12th or 13th century. In a simple *kavya* style, the book relates in 32 cantos many legends connected with Shiva and his incarnations. Some of these legends are placed in famous Kashmirian *tirthas* and afford the author a chance to describe the sacred sites of Kashmir.

Another writer, Jayaratha composed a commentary on the *Tantraloka*. He appears to have lived in the 12th century.

If Jonaraja is to be believed, during the reign of Samgramadeva (A.D. 1235-52), a poet named Shaka lived in his court and made the king the hero of his compositions. Unfortunately nothing more is known of this poet and his writings.

10 On Kashmiri Language

Professor Omkar N. Kaul

10.1 Kashmiri and its dialects

The Kashmiri language is primarily spoken in the Kashmir valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India. It is called *ke:shur* or *ke:shir* zaba:n-by its native speakers and the valley of Kashmir is called *keshir*. The Kashmiri language is called *kashmi:ri:* or *ka:shi:ri:* in other language. As per the census figures of 1981 there are 30, 76,398 native speakers of the language.

There is no consensus of opinion regarding the origin or genealogical classification of Kashmiri. There are basically two schools of thought one places Kashmiri under the Dardic group of languages and the other places it under the Indo-Aryan group of languages. Grierson (1919) has placed Kashmiri under the 'Dardic or Pisacha' family of languages. He has classified the Dardic language under three major groups: 1. The Kafir Group, 2. The Khowar or Chitrali Group and 3. The Dard Group. According to his classification the Dard Group includes Shina, Kashmiri, Kashtawari, Poguli, Siraji, Rambani, and Kohistani- the last comprising Garwi, Torwali and Maiya.

Grierson considered the Dardic language a subfamily of the Aryan languages "neither of Indian nor of Iranian origin, but (forming) a third branch of the Aryan stock, which separated from the parent stem after the branching forth of the original of the Indian languages, but before the Eranian language had developed all their peculiar characteristics" (1906: 4). He has further observed that"Dardic" was only a geographical convention. Morgenstierne (1961) also places Kashmiri under the Dardic Group of languages along with Kashtawari and other dialects which are strongly influenced by Dogri. Fussman (1972) has based his work on Morgenstierne's classification. He has also emphasised that the Dardic is a geographic and not a linguistic expression. It is only in the absence of reliable comparative data about Dardic languages, a geographic or ethnographic label is frequently applied to a group of languages or dialects.

According to Chatterjee (1963: 256) Kashmiri has developed like other Indo-Aryan languages out of the Indo-European family of languages and is to be considered as a branch of Indo-Aryan like Hindi, Punjabi etc.

The classification of Dardic language has been reviewed in some works (Kachru 1969, Strand 1973, Koul and Schmidt, 1984) with different purposes in mind. Kachru laid stress on the linguistic characteristics of Kashmiri. Strand presents his observations on Kafir languages. Koul and Schmidt have reviewed the literature on the classification of Dardic languages and have investigated the linguistic characteristics or features of these languages with special references to Kashmiri and Shina. The classification of Kashmir under the Dardic group of languages needs further elaborate investigation.

There has been no serious linguistically oriented dialect research on Kashmiri. There are two types of dialects- (a) regional dialects and (b) social dialects. Regional dialects are of two types- (1) those regional dialects or variations which are spoken within the valley of Kashmir and (2) those which are spoken in the regions outside the valley of Kashmir.

Kashmiri speaking area in the valley of Kashmir is ethnosementically divided into three regions: (1) Maraz (southern and south eastern region), (2) Kamraz (northern and north-western region) and (3) Srinagar and its neighbouring areas. There are some minor linguistic variations in Kashmiri spoken in these areas. The main variations being phonological, and in the use of certain vocabulary items. Some of the main characteristics of these speech variations are as follows:

(1) Kashmiri spoken in Maraz area retains the flap /R/ which is replaced by /r/ in Kashmiri spoken in Kamraz area and Srinagar.

(2) The progressive or Indefinite aspect suffix *an is* added to the verb roots in the Kashmiri spoken in Mara:z which is replaced by *a:n* in other two varieties.

(3) Kashmiri spoken in Kamraz distinguishes itself from the variety spoken in the Maraz as well as Srinagar mainly in the use of peculiar intonation and stress.

(4) A number of vocabulary items are different in Kashmiri spoken in the above three regions.

All the above linguistic variations are not very significant. Kashmiri spoken in the three regions is not only mutually intelligible but quite homogeneous. These dialectical variations can be termed as different styles of the same speech. Since Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar has gained some social prestige, very frequent "style switching" takes place from *Marazi* or *Kamrazi* styles to the style of speech spoken in Srinagar. This phenomena of "Style switching" is very common among the educated speakers of Kashmiri. Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar and surrounding areas continues to hold the prestige of being the standard variety which is used in mass media and literature. In the literature available on Kashmir (Grierson 1919, Kachru 1969, including the census reports, following regional dialects of Kashmiri spoken outside the valley of Kashmir have been listed:

(1) Kashtawari,
(2) Poguli,
(3) Rambani,
(4) Siraji, and
(5) Kohistani.

Out of these dialects indicated above, Rambani and Siraji do not share any of the typically linguistic characteristics with Kashmiri. Rambani and Siraji are closely related dialects which share features with Dogri and other Pahari group of language. They do share some features such as the semantic dimensions of the pronominal system, some morphology and a substantial portion of their vocabulary (mostly borrowed from common sources) with Kashmiri. The term "Kohistani" has no precise linguistic significance. It probably refers to languages of the Shina group. It cannot be therefore recognised as a dialect of Kashmiri. This leaves our Kashtawari and Poguli as the only two regional dialects of Kashmiri which are spoken outside the valleys of Kashmir.

Poguli is spoken in the Pogul and Paristan valleys bordered on the east by Kashtawari, on the south by Rambani and Siraji, and on the west by mixed dialects of Lahanda and Pahari. The speakers of Pogul are found mainly to the south, south-east and south-west of Banihal. Poguli shares many linguistic features including 70% vocabulary with Kashmiri. Literate Poguli speakers of Pogul and Paristan valleys speak standard Kashmiri as well.

Kashtawari is spoken in the Koshtawar valley lying to the south-east of Kashmir. It is bordered on the south by Bhadarwahi, on the west by Chibbali and Punchi, and on the east by the Tibetan speaking region of Zanskar. According to Grierson (1919: 233) Kashtawari is "one true dialect" o Kashmiri. It shares most linguistic features of standard Kashmiri but retains some archaic features which have disappeared from the latter. It shares about 80 per cent vocabulary with Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984).

No detailed sociolinguistic research work has been conducted to study different speech variations of Kashmiri spoken by different communities and people who belong to different professions and occupations. In some earlier works beginning with Grierson (1919: 234) distinction has been pointed out in the speech variations of Hindus and Muslims - the two major communities who speak Kashmiri natively. Kachru (1969) has used the terms *Sanskritized Kashmiri* and *Persianized Kashmiri* to denote the two "style differences" on the grounds of some variation in pronunciation morphology and vocabulary common among Hindus and Muslims. It is true that most of the distinct vocabulary is common among Hindus and Muslims. It is true that most of the distinct vocabulary used by Hindus is derived from Sanskrit and that used by Muslims is derived from Perso-Arabic sources. On considering the phonological and morphological variation (besides vocabulary) between these two dialects, the terms used by Kachru do not appear to be appropriate or adequate enough to represent the two socio dialectical variations of styles of speech. The dichotomy of these social dialects is not always significant. One can notice a process of style switching between the speakers of these two dialects in terms of different situations and participants. The frequency of this "style switching" process between the speakers of these two

communities mainly depends on different situations and periods of contact between the participants of the two communities at various social, educational and other levels.

10.2 Linguistic Characteristics

Some of the important phonological and grammatical characteristics of Kashmiri are pointed out in this section.

Kashmiri has following vowel phonemes:

(1) Front Vowels: / i, i:, e and e:/ (2) Central Vowels / 1, 1: e, e:, a and a: /: and back vowels / u, u:, o, o: and c /. The nasalization is phonemic in Kashmir. All the nasals can be nasalized. The high and mid central vowels in Kashmiri / 1,1:, e and e: / are not found in any other Indian languages. Kashmiri has also developed unrounded back vowels / U. U: and 0: / which are not found in any other lndo-Aryan or Dravidian Language.

Kashmiri has following consonant phonemes:

(1) Stops: Bibabial / p, ph and b /, dental / t, th and d /, retroflex / T. Th and D/, Velar / K kh and g /;
(2) Affricates: dental / ts and tsh /, Palato-al veolar / c, ch and j ;
(3) Nasals / m n and N /
(4) Fricatives, / s, z, sh and h / ,
(5) Lateral /1 /, (6) Trill /r/ and (7) Semi-vowels / v and y/.

It may be observed that Kashmiri does not have voiced aspirated stops. Palatalization is an important feature of Kashmiri. All the consonants excepts the palatals, can be palatalized. The denial affricates / ts and tsh / are not found in Hindi-Urdu and many other Indian Languages.

Kashmiri has borrowed, with adaptation, a large number of vocabulary items from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic sources and most recently from English. These borrowings have resulted in various phonological changes and the development of certain morphological characteristics and registers as well (Knul 19Sf.).

Kashmiri shares a number of grammatical features with other Dardic languages (Koul and Schmidt 1984), but it also shares some characteristics with modern Indo-Aryan languages. Some of the peculiar morphological and syntactic characteristics are pointed out here. Nouns are declined for number, gender and case. There are four cases : a direct or nominative and three oblique cases - a dative, an ergative and an ablative. Different case markers are added to the nouns in oblique cases. Various postpositions govern two different oblique cases : dative and ablative.

Pronouns are declined for person, number gender and case. There is a three term distinction in the demonstrativec pronouns: (1) proximate (2) remote (within sight) and (3) remote (out of sight). Pronominal suffixes are very frequently suffixed to finite verbal forms to indicate personal pronouns. The usage of pronominal suffixes is optional in the case of first and third person but their use is obligatory in the second person.

There are two sets of adjectives (1) declinable and (2) indeclinable. Declinable adjectives are declined for number, gender and case, and indeclinable adjectives do not decline for number and gender. A distinction is being maintained between the base adjectives and derived adjectives.

Verbs are inflected for person, number, gender and tense. All verbs are conjugated and can be classified in different sets according to the sentence patterns. All but seven verb roots end in consonant.

In the conjugation of past tense, three distinctions are made:

(1) simple or proximate past,
(2) indefinite past and
(3) remote past.

They are formed by adding different past participles to the verbs.

Main verbs are classified into copulative, intransitive and transitive. Verbs are causativized by adding causative suffixes to the verb stems. Conjunct and compound verbs are very frequently used in Kashmiri. Compound verbs have their own characteristics.

Kashmiri has a different word order from other Indian languages at the surface level. The verb in Kashmiri always comes in the second position in a sentence. Kashmiri is therefore characterized as a verb 2 language.

10.3 Script

Various scripts have been used for Kashmiri. The main scripts are: Sharda, Devanagri, Roman and Persio-Arabic. The Sharda script, developed around the 10th century, is the oldest script used for Kashmiri. It is now being used for very restricted purposes (for writing horoscopes etc.) by the priestly class of the Kashmiri Pandit community. The Devanagri script with additional diacritical marks has also been used for Kashmiri and is still being used by some writers. The Roman script has also been used for Kashmiri but could not become popular. The Persio-Arabic script with additional diacritical marks has been recognized as the official script for Kashmiri by the Jammu and Kashmir Government and is now being widely used. Most of the books are being printed in this script.

Excerpts: **'KASHMIRI PANDITS: A CULTURAL HERITAGE'** Edited by Prof. S. Bhatt

11 The Sharada Script

Origin and Development

B. K. Kaul Deambi

Among the Western Himalayan scripts the Sharada alphabet has a place of pride. Evolved from north western Brahmi a millinium ago in the 9th century A.D. it remained in popular use for several centuries in an extensive area of Western Himalayas including North Western Frontier Province, Dardistan, Kashmir, Jammu, Ladakh and Himachal Pradesh. The epigraphic and literary records written in this script, that have been found in these regions, have thrown light on many facets of the history and culture of the areas of their provenance 1. The inscriptions of the famous Hindu Shahi Dynasty of Kabul and Ohind and of the Shahi Dynasty of Gilgit, bulk of extant epigraphic and literary records of Kashmir produced from 9th century onwards, the inscriptions including the copper plate charters, fountain stone inscriptions and the temple inscriptions of the erstwhile Western Himalayan States of Chamba and Kangra, and the legends of the coins of the Shahis, the rulers of Kashmir and Mahmud of Ghazni are written in this script. This fact considerably enhances the value of the study of this important regional alphabet for the critical study and analysis of the valuable record, written in this script and preserved in several celebrated museums and libraries of the world. Like the Brahmi and the Kharoshti in the ancient period, the Sharada script in the early medieval period formed a vital link in the chain of communication of ideas, knowledge, and culture among the states comprised in the Western Hirnalayan region. Unfortunately the knowledge of this important script is fast disappearing threatening thereby the loss of this rich and proud heritage of Western Himalayas to posterity for ever.

As in this part of the country, the Brahmi (the well known national script of ancient India) continued to be the popular mode of writing in Western Himalayan region throughout the ancient period. This is indicated by several surviving epigraphic and literary records discovered from different parts of the region (see *infra*). During the long period of its use the Brahmi alphabet passed through several stages of development and its characters assumed different forms in different areas of its use and by about 7th and the succeeding centuries the original appellation gave way to new regional denominations like Bangala, Oriya, Marathi, Tarnil, Telegu and Nagari. These scripts though direct descendants of the Brahmi showed several characteristic peculiarities so as to justify new nomenclatures.

The Sharada was one such denomination. It evolved as a direct descendant of the Brahmi around 9th century A.D. and covered a vast region extending from Afghanistan in the north-west to Delhi in the south-east. Though its characters showed remarkable resemblance with earlier Brahmi characters in use in the region, they exhibited several peculiar developments positive enough to justify a new appellation.

The earliest known records in which the Sharada characters appear for the first tirne are the coins of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir (9th century)2 and a brief record incised on the fragment of a broken jar discovered from the precincts of the Avantiswami temple and containing the name of Avantivarma (855-883 A.D.) the founder of the temple3. Of about the same date is the Sarahan Prashasti of queen Somaprakha, spouse of Satyaki, a ruling chieftain of Sarahan opposile Saho in ancient Chamba (Himachal Pradesh)4. Among the other records of slightly later date mention may be made of the Dewai (NWFP) inscription of the Shahi king Bhimadeva (lOth century)5, inscriptions of the reign of queen Didda (A.D. 980/1-1003)6 in Lahore Museum and S.P.S.Museum, Srinagar, the Brahmor and Sungal (District Chamba, Himachal Pradesh) copper plate inscriptions of king Yugakaravarman and his son Vidagdhadeva7, Barikot and Hund (NWFP) inscriptions from Hund including that of the queen Kameshwari Devi.9

Sharada remained an alphabet par excellence of Kashmir till the present century and owed its name to the valley which from ancient times bore the alternative name of *Sharada-desha* and *Skarada-mandala* owing to its tutelary deity Sharada, the Goddess of Learning. The other name of the alphabet was *Siddha-matrika* by which name the script is referred to by Alberuni10. This name is due to the fact that the alphabet starts with the benediction *Om Swasti Siddham*. The alphabet continued to be used in Himachal

Pradesh and Punjab up to the 13th century when it was replaced by its descendant, the Devashesha which in turn gave rise to the modern alphabets of Gurmukhi and Takari. In Kashmir, however, its use continues to this day though it is confined to the older generation of the priestly class.

Considering the extent of the region over which the Sharada alphabet remained in use for a long time, the number of Sharada epigraphic records discovered so far is by no means very large. Hardly one hundred and odd inscriptions have been discovered so far, 13 in north Western Pakistan, 34 in Kashmir, 6 in Jammu, 5 in Ladakh, 39 in Himachal Pradesh and one in Delhi.

On the basis of the Sharada characters used in these records three successive stages of development of the Sharada alphabet can easily be discovered. The earliest phase is represented by the inscriptions and coins of 9th-10th centuries, the second by those of the 11th-13th centuries and the third and final by the epigraphic and literary records of the 14th and subsequent centuries.

While the use of the Sharada alphabet in the inscriptions dates from the 8th century A.D. its use in the manuscripts, however, is not known earlier than the 12th century when we find it first used in a manuscript discovered from the village Bakhshali in the Peshawar district of Pakistan11. The manuscript, the title of which is lost, contains an important work on Mathematics, but bears no date. On palacographic grounds, however, it can be assigned to the 12th century. Next in date is an old birch bark manuscript of ***Munimata- mani-mala*** which is the earliest known Sharada manuscript discovered so far in Kashmir, assignable on palacographich ground to the 14th century 12. The other early known manuscripts are the birch bark manuscript of ***Shakuntala*** 13, birch bark manuscript of the ***Adi*** and ***Sabha*** Parvan of the Mahabharata and the birch bark manuscript of ***Kathasarit- sagara***,15 all assignable to 16th century.

11.1 Origin [16]

I. The Brahmi alphabet of north-western India of the 3rd century B.C., generally called the Mauryan alphabet, is represented by:

(1) The Kalsi Rock Edicts 17
(2) The Delhi-Topra pillar-edicts 18
(3) The Pathyar (District Kangra, Himachal Pradesh) rock inscription 19.

II. The Brahmi alphabet of north-western India of the 2nd century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era, usually called the post-Mauryan alphabet, is represented among others by the following records:

1. The coins of the Indo-Grecian Kings Agathocles the Pantaleon 20
2. The inscriptions of the ksatrapa Sodasa 21
3. The Kanhiar (Dist. Kangra, H.P.) rock inscription 22
4. The Bathtsal (Jammu) cave inscription 23.

The post Mauryan alphabet displays two remarkable developments.

a. The shortening and the equalisation of the upper vertical lines,
b. the development of top marks represented by serifs, nail heads, or triangular wedges.

III. The inscriptions of the Kusana kings-Kaniska, Huviska and Vasudeva24, discovered form Mathura and its vicinity, illustrate the next step in the develcpment of the Brahmi of north-western India.

IV. Further development of our alphabet is illustrated by the following records of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. which represent the western variety of the northern Indian alphabet of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., generally called the Gupta alphabet:

1. The Abbotabad inscription of the time of Kadambesvara dasa (Gupta) year 25 = A.D. 344 [25]
2. The Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II, G.E. 61 = A.D. 380 [26]
3. The Mathura stone inscription of Chandragupta II [27]
4. The Shorkot inscription of the year 83 [28]
5. The Tussam (Dist. Hissar) rock inscription 29

6. The Lahore copper seal inscription of the Maharaj Mahesvaranaga 30 and
7. The Bower manuscript 31.

In the following records of the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D., discovered in northwestern India, we find further development of the forms of the Western Gupta alphabet leading to those of the Sharada in the 9th century.

1. Kura inscription of Toramana 32
2. The Nirmand plate of Mahasamanta Maharaja Samudrasena 33
3. The Sonepat Seal of Harsavardhana 34
4. The Hatun rock inscription of Patoladeva 35
5. The Gilgit manuscripts 36.

VI. We shall now discuss in detail the forms of the early Sharada characters as represented by the early records referred to above:

1. The initial a and a retain the same form as noticed in the Bower Manuscripts and the records of the 6th-8th centuries.
2. In i however, we notice a significant development. The earlier curve below the two dots in turned round and drawn towards the left.
3. i had the same form as in the Bower manuscripts. 4. u and u also retain the same forms and do not display any significant change.
5. In e the development is marked by the addition of a wedge at the left top end.
6. o shows no change.
7. k also retains the forms of 6th and 7th centuries.
8. In kh the earlier downward stroke has been converted into a well formed vertical in the copper-plate inscriptions.
9. g shows a flat top and a wedge, a small triangle, a serif or a small upward stroke at the lower end of the left vertical.
10. gh and n do not present anything remarkable except n shows generally a serif at the right top end.
11. c occurs both in the rounded and quadrangular forms.
12. j shows a serif or a wedge at the right top end.
13. jha retains its earlier form.
14. h shows well developed top bar.
15. t. occurs both in the archaic rounded form and the later developed form with a flat top.
16. Buhler mentions d as one of the Sharada letters which exhibits a peculiar development. He describes it as showing a loop in the middle instead of an acute angle and a wedge at the lower end. However, it may be pointed out here that the loop which occurs frequently in the later Sharada especially in the manuscripts is conspicuously absent in our early Sharada records. Moreover in place of the wedge at the lower end we sometimes find a fork as in the Brahmor copperplate and sometimes a small triangle as in the Sungal grant.
17. The cerebral nasal occurs both in the earlier form with a base stroke as, e.g., in the Sarahan prasasti and in the later form with the base suppressed and the two curves united and supported on the right by a small upward stroke. Occasionally we meet with a further cleveloped form as, e.g., in the Brahmor plate where the letter is provided with a down stroke attached to its left and slanting towards the right.
18. t retains the same form as in the 6th and 7th centuries.
19. th mostly retains its earlier rounded form. In one instance in the Srinagar inscription of queen Didda, we find the letter with a flat top.
20. d does not present anything remarkable.
21. dh occurs in its ancient crescent form and in one inscription (Srinagar) the letter shows a quadrangular shape evidently caused by the flattening of the top and the bottom.

22. The dental nasal retains the form of the 6th and 7th centuries.
23. p, ph and b do not call for any special remark.
24. bh occurs in two forms either with an inverted wedge or with an open triangle. The triangle sometimes more open and less defined and the letter looks like h.
25. The letter m generally retains its earlier shape. Sometimes, however, the right hand vertical protrudes downwards and there appears a knob or a small triangle on the left.
26. The letter y is exclusively bipartite. It differs from the earlier form by a greater bulge on the left and by the occasional downward prolongation of the right hand vertical.
27. r generally shows a wedge at the lower end of the vertical on the left side. Sometimes the wedge is replaced by a small upward stroke and occasionally by a small triangle.
28. The letters a and v retain their earlier shapes.
29. g is squarish in shape and has generally a wedge on the left. The wedge is sometimes replaced by a triangular loop and sometimes by a triangle left open on one side.
30. s preserves the form of the western Gupta character.
31. s is similar to s but open at the top.
32. The letter h does not present anything remarkable.
33. Medial a is expressed by means of a wedge or a serif attached to the top of the consonant on the right side. In case of consonants like n, t and n the a sign is expressed by a hook or a semicircle and in case of j by a small vertical attached to the right end of the central stroke. In the latter case, the letter drops the top bar and the wedge attached to it.
34. The signs for medial i and i are generally the same as in the preceeding centuries. Occasionally we find the vowel signs marked by the sickle shaped curves in the ancient manner.
35. Medial u is expressed in two ways:
(a) by a triangular wedge which sometimes assumes the shape of a short upward stroke or hook, attached to the foot of the vertical on the left side. In case of consonants like n, d, ph, y and h where the vertical is absent, the wedge is attached by means of a short vertical.
(b) by a curve which represents the initial u. In case of ru the sign is expressed sometimes by attaching a downward steamer to the right of the letter.
36. Medial u is also expressed like the medial u in two ways:
(a) by a horizontal, sometimes wavy flag-like line, attached to the lower end of the vertical on the left side.
(b) by the subscribed sign for initial u.
37. According to Buhler the angular medial r is a peculiar development of the Sharada. But in our early Sharada records the shape of the curve, representing the medial r is mostly rounded. The angular form occurs quite occasionally.
38. Medial e is expressed either by a stroke horizontal or slanting-placed over the consonant or by the pristh. amatra, i.e. by a wedge, serif or a small down stroke attached to the left end of the top bar.
39. Medial ai is expressed by the combination of two I symbols i.e., by the superscribed stroke and the pristhamatra.
40. Medial o is expressed in three distinct ways:
(a) by two wedges attached to the both ends of the top bar or in case of letters with open top to two top ends.
(b) by a superscribed slanting stoke accompanied by a wedge or a curve in case of t, n, attached to the right end of the top bar.
(c) by a superscribed flourish.
41. Medial au is expressed by the superscribed o flourish combined with a wedge or a serif attached to the right end of the top bar.
42. Ligatures (see table)
As regards the ligatures the early Sharada alphabet preserves faithfully the ancient method of writing the conjunct consonants one below the other.

42.1 K retains its ancient form without the loop when in combination with superscript vowels u, r or when formirg the upper and the middle element of the ligature. As the final element it retains its usual looped shape.
42.2. The subscript n occurs in a form absolutely distinct from the superscription. Its shape loosely resembles the figure 3 and it occurs only in combination with j.
42.3. The lingual t as a second member of the ligature occurs in its normal form in the early records. In later records it assumes a distinctive shape and consists of a semicircuiar curve open to the right and a slanting stroke attached to the foot of the upper consonant on the right.
42.4. The subscribed th occurs mostly in combination with s. It consists of a usual circular th with a tail. Its shape normally is identical with the subscribed t described above.
42.5. The dental th as the record or the final element of a signature considerably differs in shape from the matrika.
In the coins of the Utpalas of Kashmir and in the Sarahan prasasti it is expressed by a spiral or an inward curve drawn from left to right. In the Hund inscription it consists of a curve which starting from left sharply turns round and ends in a tail on the right. In the Brahmor copper-plate it is rendered by a long drawn curve open on the right and with a hook at its lower end. In the Sarikot inscription and the Sungal grant sometimes the curve forming the spiral instead of turning inside turns sharply round and moves towards the left.
42.6. The subscribed y preserves the form of the Kusana and the Gupta inscriptions.
42.7. Buhler has drawn attention to one of the peculiar features of the Sharada according to which r as the first part of the ligature is inserted into the left side of the second letter. In general the super- script r retains its full form with the vertical slightly shortened. In ligatures rn, rth, rdh, it does not preserve its distinctive shape and usually loses its bottom part. In the ligature YU it is marked only by a small excrescence on the left curve of the subscribed U. In the group ry it is expressed by a short vertical to which the curve of y is attached in one continuous stroke.
42.8. In ligatures where r forms the middle or the final element, it is rendered by an upwa rd stroke attached to the iower end of the upper consonant on the left.
42.9. The subscribed U in the ligature sv is generally triangular in shape.

VII. SHARADA ALPHABET (11th - 13th Centuries)[37]

1. The vowels a and a retain their earlier forms and do not exhibit any significant change. Only in very rare cases do we find the letter with a closed top.
2. The initial I shows a distinct development, the two dots which stood previously on either side of the central vertical now appear above the top of the letter.
3. k in certain cases develops a second loop to the right evidently caused by the contact of right hand curve with the central vertical.
4. In gh the development is marked by the elongation of the right hand stroke which henceforth becomes the regular feature of the letter.
5. c occurs mostly in quadrangular form. The ancient rounded form occurs rarely.
6. t occurs regularly with a flat top and generally with a wedge or a serif at the right top end. The archaic rounded form becomes rare.
7. d shows regularly a wedge or a serif at the lower end.
8. Of the three forms of cerebral n noticed earlier one with the connecting base stroke becomes rare.
9. th shows a flat top and is lozenge or rectangular in shape. Ancient crescent form becomes rare.
10. dh shows regularly a flat top and is usually angular in shape.
11. bh generally shows a wedge in the middle. In some cases the wedge is replaced by a triangular loop.
12. y occurs sometimes with a closed top.
13. In s the vertical on the right sometimes protrudes downwards.
14. s occurs more frequently with a wedge and occasionally with a triangular loop at the left

lower end.
15. Virama is expressed by a slanting stroke running through the right top end of the vowel-less consonant. The consonants with which the virama is attached appear in modified forms in the copper- plate inscription. Generally they retain their fuller and complete forms.
16. Medial e and si are now formed more often by the superscribed strokes placed over the top of the consonant and less frequently by the pristhamatra.
17. Medial o is expressed more often by superscribed flourish and less frequently by a wedge at the left top end combined with a superscribed e stroke. The ancient method of two wedges attached to both sides of the tcp of the letter becomes rare.
18. The subscribed r is rendered sometimes by a long slanting stroke drawn from left to right and attached to lower end of the upper consonant. The form of the subscribed r becomes more common in the later periods.
19. The 'S' like form of the subscribed th which occurred occasionally in the earlier record now becomes more common.

VIII. SHARADA ALPHABET (14th-16th centuries)38

1. The initial a and a are generally closed at the top.
2. The initial i displays significant development. The earlier two dots above the curve are converted with a small curve facing downwards and attached to a small upward stroke at the right end.
3. In initial o the earlier wedge at the left top end is converted with a vertical stroke.
4. The letter k occurs in a double looped form.
5. The earlier wedge at the left top end in the palatal nasal n develops into a vertical stroke as in the case of initial o.
6. th occurs only in a quadrangular form.
7. dh shows regularly a well developed top bar.
8. y occurs with a closed top.
9. Medial a and ai are rendered more regularly by subscribed strokes. The use of pristhamatra is rare.
10. Medial o is rendered only by the superscribed flourish. The other methods used earlier become absolute.
11. The subscript th in the ligature sth is invariably rendered by a loop with a tail attached to it on the right side.

IX. FINAL DEVELOPMENT

1. The initial vowels a and a occur regularly with closed tops. The left hand lower curve is suppressed and the upper curve attached to the top bar.
2. In initial e and o the wedges at the left top ends have been replaced by the vertical down strokes.
3. k occurs regularly in double locped form.
4. j undergoes significant change. The letter drops the central stroke and the top stroke is replaced by two small connected curves with a small upward stroke attached to them at the right end.
5. y occurs exclusively with a top closed by means of a horizontal stroke.
6. The medial a is ja is expressed by a small circular loop attached to the right end of the top horizontal bar. It is denoted sometimes by a curve which issuing from the right end of the top bar touches the left hand vertical in the middle. Usually the curve touches the left hand vertical at its upper end. In ja the two curves. at the upper end are regularly replaced by the horizontal bar.
7. The Medial u is expressed, besides the usual flag like line by the combination of two curves of initial u. These curves are attached to the bottom of the consonant. Sometimes one below the other, sometimes back to back and occasionally they form very peculiar combinations of two curves of initial u. These curves are attached to the bottom of the consonant.

8. The medial c is expressed exclusivelv by a horizontal stroke placed above the consonant.
10. The long drawn streamet for virama becomes long vertical.

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EVOLUTION OF SHARADA ALPHABET

	BRAHMI ALPHABET OF NORTH WESTERN INDIA						SHARADA
	C. 300 B.C.	2nd Cent. BC to Ist Cent. AD	Ist-3rd Cent.	4th-5th Cent.	6th-7th Cent.	8th Cent.	9th-10 Cent.
a अ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ā आ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
i इ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]
ī ई		[illegible]	[illegible]				[illegible]
u उ	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ū ऊ					[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ṛ ऋ			[illegible]				
e ए	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ai ऐ				[illegible]			
o ओ	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
au औ				[illegible]			
k क	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
kh ख	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
g ग	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
gh घ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
ṅ ङ			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
c च	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ch छ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]

EVOLUTION OF SHARADA ALPHABET							
BRAHMI ALPHABET OF NORTH WESTERN INDIA							SHARADA
	C. 300 B.C.	2nd Cent. BC to 1st Cent. AD	1st-3rd Cent.	4th-5th Cent.	6th-7th Cent.	8th Cent.	9th-10 Cent.
j ज	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
jh झ	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]
ñ ञ				[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
ṭ ट	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
ṭh ठ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
ḍ ड	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
ḍh ढ	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
ṇ ण			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
t त	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
th थ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
d द	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
dh ध	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
n न	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
p प	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ph फ	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
b ब	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]
bh भ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
m म	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

EVOLUTION OF SHARADA ALPHABET

	BRAHMI ALPHABET OF NORTH WESTERN INDIA						SHARADA
	C.300 B.C.	2nd Cent. BC to 1st Cent. AD	1st-3rd Cent.	4th-5th Cent.	6th-7th Cent.	8th Cent.	9th-10 Cent.
y य	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
r र	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
l ल	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
v व	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
sh श	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ṣ ष	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
s स	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
h ह	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]						[illegible]	[illegible]
a अ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
i ī	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
u उ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ū ऊ	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ṛ		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
e ए	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ai ऐ		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
o ओ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
au औ				[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]							

Evolution of Sharada Alphabet

THE SHARDA ALPHABET

8th-10th Cent. A. D.

LIGATURES

No.	Source	Date
I	HCND INSCRIPTION	(HARSA), 68-69=A.D.774-75
II	COINS OF UTPALAS	A.D.855-910 A.D.
III	SARAHAN PRASASTI	c 9th Century
IV	DEWAI INSCRIPTION	c 940-960 A.D.
V	BARICOT INSCRIPTION	c 960-980 A.D.
VI	S.P.S. MUSEUM IMAGE INSCRIPTION	(L) 65=A.D. 989
VII	SRINAGAR INSCRIPTION	(L) 68=A.D. 992
VIII	BRAHMOR COPPER PLATE	10th Cent.
IX	SUNGAL COPPER PLATE	10th Cent.

The Sharada Alphabet
8th-10th Century A.D.

DEVELOPMENT OF SHARADA ALPHABET[1]

	9th-10th Cent.	11-13th Cent.	14th-16th Cent.	MODERN		9th-10th Cent.	11-13th Cent.	14th-16th Cent.	MODERN
a	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	th	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ā	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	d	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
i	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	dh	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ī	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	n	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
u	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	p	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ū	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	ph	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ṛ	[illegible]			[illegible]	b	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
e	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	bh	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ai				[illegible]	m	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
o	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	y	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
au				[illegible]	r	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
k	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	l	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
kh	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	v	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
g	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ś	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
gh	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ṣ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ṅ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	s	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
c	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	h	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ch	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	kh	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
j	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Vowel marks	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
jh	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	ā	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ñ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	i ī	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ṭ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	u	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ṭh	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ū	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ḍ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ṛ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ḍh		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	e	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ṇ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ai	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ḥ	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	o au	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Development of Sharada Alphabet

Source:
Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh - Linguistic Predicament
Edited by: P. N. Pushp and K. Warikoo
Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation
Har-Anand Publications

12 Kashmiris in the Service of Urdu

D. K. Kachru

Kashmiris can jusifiably be proud of their great contribution to the development and enrichment of Persian in India from the fourteenth century of the Christian era onwards. Earlier they had already carved out a special place for themselves in the realms, among others, of Sanskrit language and literature.

The Persian poetical works of some of them had been adjudged, in their times, to be as good as those of the best poets of Iran itself. Habib Ullah Ghanai, 'Hubbi' (1556-1617), Mulla Muhammad Tahir, 'Ghani' (d. 1669), Mirza Darab Beg, 'Juya' (d.1707) and Mirza Beg Akmal, 'Kamil' (1645-1719) of the Mughal period are in the opinion of Dr. G. L. Tikku of the University of *Illinois* (U.S.A.) only four poets who are, so as to say, landmarks of Persian poetry in Kashmir. Their name and fame travelled as far as Iran in their day.

During almost a century of Afghan and Sikh rule from about the middle of 1700 A.D. to about the middle of 1800 A.D., Mulla Ashraf, 'Bulbul', Abdul Vahab, 'Shaiq', Daya Ram Kachru, 'Khushdil', Mulla Hamid Ullah, 'Hamid', Birbal Kachru, 'Varasta' were equally outstanding and far-famed. One could with apologies to chronlogy, add the distinguished name of Bhawani Dass Kachru 'Neku', Raja Kaul Arzabegi, Chandra Bhan 'Brahmin', Lachi Ram 'Saroor', Narain Dass 'Zamir' and a host of others.

Some of these distinguished men of letters rose of sublime heights of accomplishment which won them deserved acclaim. To those friends who would like to know a little more on the subject I would recommend a study of *"Persian Poetry in Kashmir"* by Dr. G. L. Tikku. He has called it only "an Introduction". But it is much more than that, and provides educative and excellent reading. Dr. Tikku has rendered a signal service to his old, home-land and to all lovers of Persian by bringing out this excellent "introduction".

Persian, however, slowly ceased to be the language of the court and of the elite with the eclipse of the Moghuls. Urdu took its place steadily and step by step. The part that Kashmiris played in its development and enrichment has again been historic and all-important. In point of that fact Kashmiris, whether Hindu or Muslim, who migrated to various parts of India from the middle of the seveteenth century onwards and settled down in Punjab, Delhi, Rajasthan,Central India, U.P. and even Eastern India, slowly forgot their mother tongue, Kashmiri and used Urdu as such. They ultimately, came to regard Urdu as their mother-tongue. In Kashmir itself, Urdu was the court language and therefore in full bloom.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the very foundations of the Urdu novel and of its fiction were laid by that great but tragic genius, Rattn Nath Dhar 'Sarshar'. His classic *"Fasanai Azad"* was universally acclaimed as a great work of art and charted new paths in virgin soil. He was followed by others. These included in recent days Prem Nath Sadhu 'Pardesi', and my dear old class mate, Prem Nath 'Dhar' who wrote *"Kagaz-Ka-Vasudeva"* among others.

In the field of Urdu prose stalwarts like Tribhuwan Nath 'Hajar', Shiv Narain 'Shamim', Si Tej Bahadur Sapru to name only a few, rendered yeomen's service. In Urdu drama Agha Hashar Kashmiri was the path finder and pioneer. His *"Yahudi-Ki-Beti"* has not lost any of its lustre even yet. I will not talk of later day men of letters in these fields.

Again in the development of Urdu journalisr Kashmiris have played a significant role. In th Kashmir State itself the legendary Har Gopal Kaul 'Khasta', was almost the father of Urdu journalism. In Lahore, others apart, the name of Gopinath Gurtu of *"Akhbar-i-am"* fame was one to conjure with to be followed, with passage of time, by Dina Nath Chikan *'Mast's'* "Subeh-i-Kashmir". "Kashmir Darpan" of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, *"Morasala-i-Kashmir"* and *"Subeh-i-Umed"* of Brij Narain 'Chakbast' and *"Bahar-i-Kashmir"* could again well be mentioned in this connection as specimens from U.P. and Lahore.

Urdu poetry owes a significant debt to Kashmiri genius, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, a migrant Kashmiri whose family had left Kashmir and settled in Sialkot. The *"Masnavi"* of Daya Shankar Tikku, 'Nasim', holds its own even today. Brij Narain Chakbast - a great poet who died young touched the very heights of poetic genius. His *"Khak-i-Hind"* anti poems of the same genre should be read with Iqbal's *"Mera Wattan Wohi*

Hai" and *"Naya Shawab"* written very much later. His mastery of Urdu prose was equally superb. The diction, repart and thrust of *"Maarika-i-Chakbast-o-Sharar"* are a delight, Pandit Brij Mohan Dattatriy, 'Kaifi', was till recently - he died full of years and honours - a venerable name in Urdu literary and cultural circles all over India. My old and revered teacher in S. P. Colleges Sirinagar, Pandit Nand Lal Kaul "Talib" and his friend and contemporary, Pandit Dina Nath Chikan, "Mast", my earlier and very revered teacher at School, Pandit Nand Lal Din 'Begaraz' - again to name only a few-also made their valuable contributions to both prose and poetry in Urdu and Persian. My old collegemate, that great shining star ot Kashmir poetic, literary and cultural firmament, Mali Dina Nath 'Nadim', initially wrote his poetry in Urdu. Some at least of these, which he sweetly recited decades ago, seemed to me then to nearly touch the stars. Again the great Kashmiri seer and Savant 'Masterji'. Pandit Zinda Kaul, also started as an Urdu poet. Some of his Urdu poems won the applause of old masters. That great nightingale of Kashmir, Ghulam Ahmed 'Mahjur' also started with Urdu and made a brilliant success of it. Among living Urdu poets today Pandit Anand Narain Mulla is still acknowledged as the unchallenged high-priest.

Many Kashmiris had invaluable treasures of Persian and Urdu manuscripts with them. They were loath to part with these and unable to preserve them either tragic consequence. I remember - and this is a child-hood memory - that my grand-father, Pandit Nanak Chand, he had a lovely hand, had copied two rare and lengthy Persian manuscripts on fine Kashmir paper with illuminated margins which were kept in a small wooden box. He died in the prime of life and these could subsequently neverbe traced.

Most Kashmiris were aware of this continued and wanton loss of a valuable heritage but seemed either helpless or indifferent. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and some other distinguished Kashmiris of Allahabad, however, decided to cry a halt, to the extent possible to further ravages of this nature. They, therefore, organized with a rare missionary zeal, a collection drive in the fields of Persian and Urdu poetry by Kashmiris in Northern India. This was indeed a Herculean task.

The dedication and self-less enthusiasm of this small band of lovers of Urdu poetry and of Kashmiris, headed in the field by Pandit Jagmohan Nath Raina, "Shauk", resulted in the publication finally by 1932 of two excellently brought out volumes of a classic in Urdu, *"Bahar-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmir".* It is a monumental work and received a most enthusiastic reception. It earned for Kashmiris not only numberless bouquets, but also warm admiration for their great literary contributions to both Persian and Urdu poetry in a most outstanding manner. Extracts from the *"Kalam"* of over three hundred twenty-five Kashmiri poets in Persian and Urdu figured in these two volumes. Peer Pandit Padshah and Rup Bhawani are included amongst a host of others. There are also photographs of the Poets/Poetesses in plenty - a great labour of love. Prose, drama and fiction could not be covered. The canvass would have been too vast. Nearly half a century has elapsed since many Kashmiri flowers have bloomed in the interval in the enchanting gardens of Urdu literature in prose, poetry and drama. But most of us are unaware of this scattered treasure of beauty and this cultural legacy. A fresh band of re-incarnated Jagmohan Nath Rainas has to be born to take up the thread and bring out another volume to span the uncovered interregnum. This is a labour of love which could again be resumed at Allahabad or at Delhi before it is too late. Lovers of Kashmir, of Kashmiri culture, and of Urdu ought surely to spare some thought for this and put their heads together to evolve an effective plan of action. Surely what some of us could do and achieve in this direction more than fifty years ago can be attempted by some more of us again with equal success given the spirit and the dedication.

Excerpts: **'KASHMIRI PANDITS: A CULTURAL HERITAGE'** Edited by Prof. S. Bhatt

13 Contribution of Kashmir to Indian Literature

Raghunath Safaya

13.1 Introduction

The beautiful valley of Kashmir has always been a cynosure of all eyes for its peculiar climatic conditions and abundant bounties of nature. Kashmir deserves to be given the highest position in Indian Republic not merely because of its natural resources, and sensitive political boundaries, but chiefly due to the remarkable contributions made by the people of Kashmir to the Indian culture.

The high mountainous barriers around the valley, the peculiar climatic conditions, the natural wealth and the cheap resources of living, afforded a Kashmirian, a pleasant calm and quiet atmosphere to ponder over the problems of life and to strive for higher, intellectual pursuits. Kashmiris have played an important role in the development of intellectual, moral, religious, spiritual and social life of Indians. They had made contributions in the field of various sciences, literature, fine arts and philosophy, and in short, accelerated march of culture.

13.2 Historical Literature

A peculiar characteristic of the Indian mind as described by Western writers is that Indians lacked historical sense. There are, in fact, no works, to be called truly historical except Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. This deficiency cannot be overlooked when we find Indian history shrouded in mystery and wrapped in darkness, in spite of the critical researches and hard labours of Oriental scholars. Only Kashmirians possessed a developed historical sense from very early times. Even before Kalhana many historians had written extensive works which formed the basis of *Raja-tarangini*. The assiduity, faithfulness and accuracy of narrating the events in Kashmir's history as found in Raja-tarangini make the work comparable to any of the historical works written by Western Scholars. The so-called historical works in India can never be compared with this work. Puranas are more mythological than historical. Bana's *Harsa-Charita* is more a novel than a history. *Kumarapala-carita* of Hemachandra (1088-1172) is more a work on grammar than on history. All other historical works are written by Kashmirians; Kashmir thus occupies a unique position in the historical literature of India.

The predecessors of Kalhana are many, as he himself tells us that he consulted eleven works of former scholars as well as still existent *Nilamata- purana*. Nothing definite is known about the author and date of this ancient historical work, but this is a rich source of history of Kashmir in the earlier times.

Kalhana mentions Ksemendra, the author of *Nripavali* but at the same time censures it for carelessness. Padmamihira Pasupata, Helaraja, Chavaillakara and Suvrata were other historians who preceded Kalhana, but their works are not available.

Bilhana, the son of Jyasthakalasa, a veteran scholar of grammar, was a Vedic scholar, had mastered Mahabhasya and poetics. He left his home, and as a wandering Pandita, travelled from country to country till he established himself at the court of King Vikramaditya VI, the Calukya king of Kalyana (1076-1127) where he was received and honoured as Vidyapati. He wrote *Vikramankadeva-carita* which is regarded as an important contribution to history. This work begins with the origin of Calukya family and eulogises the king. It contains eighteen cantos and in the last he gives an account of his own family and a short account of the kings of Kashmir. Keith dates his work before 1088 A.D. *'Vikramaditya'*, the famous play of Hindi Poet Udayasankra Bhatta is based on the same work. Bilhana's poetry is of no mean order. He is a model of simplicity and clarity which are essential requisites of a historical work.

Kalhana, born about 1100 A.D. was the son of Campaka, a minister of King Harsa of Kashmir (1089-1101) and was a resident of Parihasapura modern Paraspore, a village near Srinagar. King Harsa was assassinated through conspiracy and Kalhana's family had to leave the royal court.He was a follower of Saivism but did not believe in Tantras. He retained his great love for Buddhism.

Kalhana inspected inscriptions of temples, memorials, records of land grants, eulogies (prasastis), coins, manuscripts of literary works, and consulted all his predecessors in the historical field. He even corrected the mistakes of earlier historians. Thus, as an antiquarian and a historian with true historical judgement and faculty, he wrote the chronicle of events in Kashmir's history. Though the earlier part is confused and does not tally with the dates confirmed by our present historians, yet it is most accurate from 596 to 1151 A.D. Some of the outstanding features of his work are: -

(i) "His accuracy in genealogical information is conspicuous, and his topography most favourably distinguishes him from such a historian as Livy, who apparently never looked at one of the battlefields he described", remarks Keith.

(ii) He was free from prejudice and partiality. He did not spare even the then ruling King Harsa. He fearlessly exposes his treacherous conduct and narrates distress under his rule. His description of Kashmirians as 'fair, false and fickle' testifies the same thing. He condemned the activities of the priests as well as the courtiers with whom fidelity was unknown. The city populace is presented as idle, pleasure lousily ancl utterly callous, acclaiming a king today and welcoming another tomorrow.

(iii) Like a modern historian he gives the source of his information which he finds unsatisfactory. He admits his own limitations and states that he simply records contradictory statements which he cannot believe.

(iv) He was a man of intellect and gives his definite contribution to the art of administration. He places his own contribution to the art of governing Kashmir in the mouth of Lalitaditya.

(v) His style is poetic and simple. It is possessed of easy flow. The use of dialogues lends variety and dramatic power. He is fond of similes.

(vi) It is no wonder if due to the geographical isolation of Kashmir he suffered from certain limitations. He had no relationship with the outside world. But this has to be attributed to the geographical location, and not to the historian's inability to open to the outside world. In short, Kalhana is the first and the foremost historian of India.

Jalhana, another historian was a member of the court of King Alankara of Kashmir. He gives an account of King Somapala, king of Rajapuri, conqucred to King Sussala. His work is titled *Somapala-vilasa*. Sambhu wrote a panegyric of Harsadeva titled Rajendra Karnapura. He flourished in the 11th century. Jonaraja (who died in 1659 A.D.) and his pupil Srivara continued the Raja-taranaini of Kalhana upto the time of King Zain-ul-Abdin. Srivara's pupil Suka carried the story down to the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar. Prajabhatta wrote *Rajavali-Pataka*.

A number of ancient historians appearing on Kashmir's stage is a sufficient proof of a highly developed historical sense among the Kashmiris. A greater testimony of this fact is that each and every Kashmiri inherits even upto the present day this faculty, while he records and remembers faithfully the past events, ancedotes, legends and also preserves the documents. Even the present generation include some good historians as Mohammed-ud-Din Faq, A. Kaul, Gwash Lal and many others. The latest in the field are P. N. Kaul's works: *Tasvir-e-Kashmir*, *Kashmir Speaks* and *Kashmir-darsana* which give the factual narration of the history of modern Kashmir even to this date and also *Buddhism in Kashmir* and *Ladakh* written by J. N. Ganhar.

13.3 Medicine

The origin of Indian medicine can be traced back to Atharvaveda. In Carka, the writer of *Carakasamhita*, we find a definite and masterly contribution to this science. In fact history of the development of Indian medicine begins from this physician.

There was much controversy about the birth-place of Caraka. But the Buddhist literature discovered by Professor Sylavan Levi in China showed that Caraka was the court poet of Kaniska (1st century A.D.) and his birth-place was Kashmir. With Charaka begins the dawn of Indian medicine and surgery, as all the later works are either based on Caraka or are mere extensions of the same work.

Caraka-samhita has not come to us in the original form. It has been revised and improved by Drdhabala who was son of Kapilaba (9th century A.D.) and was born in village Pantsinor the confluence of rivers Jhelum and Sindhu. This conclusion about his birth place has been arrived at by Hoernle in his *'Authorship of Caraka-samhita'*. Udbhata wrote a commentary on Sushruta Samhita in the 12th century A.D.

The abundance of forests containing various kinds of herbs gave Kashmirians the favourable position to be conversant with the science of herbs. Surgery was, however, not cultivated in Kashmir. Carak and his followers thus place Kashmir as the chief contributor to Indian medicine.

Mention may also be made of Rati-rahasya of Koka (before 1200 A.D.) son of Tejoka and grandson of Paribhadra. This book gives a scientific and elaborate description of sex with its biological and psychological phases, and is considered to be an authoritative work on the subject. After *Kama-sutra* of Vatsayana, this is the first and the foremost work on this subject.

13.4 Grammar and Philology

(a) *Paninian School*:

Panini's Astadhyayi consisting of 3,965 short sutras and embodying the whole science of grammar and language is already known to us. This work was commented upon and supplemented by Kartayana, in his Vartikas. It is due to the great Kashmirian Patanjali that the Vartikas are preserved, as he wrote his Mahabhasya an elaborate commentary on Vartikas. There has been controversy over Patanjali's place of birth. But these are numerous proofs to show that his birth-place was Gudra, a village in Kashmir. Kashmiri tradition upholds it. Some of the sounds which are found only in Kashmiri language have influenced his treatment of the subject. Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali are called the munitraya 'the three architects' of Sanskrit grammar.

The significance of Mahabhasya lies in the philosophical analysis of the sentence. What is the relation between word and meaning? This and such other questions he has solved in a charming and interesting manner. His method of discussion is conversational, and in the whole range of Sanskrit literature there is none parallel to him except Sankaracarya.

One of the foremost commentaries on Panini is *Kasika-Vritti* jointly written by the Kashmiri grammarians Jayaditya (perhaps king Jayapida) and Vamana. The former wrote first five chapters and latter the last three chapters. The Chinese traveller Itsing mentions this work, and so it can safely be dated not later than the 7th century A.D. This work was popular in the whole length and breadth of India. There is an edict eulogising King Indravarma of Camba (911 A.D.) which mentions that one of the qualities of the king was that he had mastered grammar with Kasika-vritti.

Kaiyata, son of Jaiyata and brother of famous critic Manimata, flourished between 11th and 12th century, and wrote *Mahabhasya-pradipa*, a running commentary on Patanjali's Mahabhasya. He presents this work in the light of different schools that preceded him.

The Dhatupatha of Panini was commented upon by Kshirasvamin. All the above four Kashmiri grammarians made a significant contribution to the Paninian School of grammar, but there were other schools of grammar too.

(b) Candra School:

The second important school after Panini was Candra school. Candragemin, the founder of Candra school of grammar flourished during the reign of king Abhmanyu (400 A.D.) His work Candravyakarana consisting of eight chapters (the last two being lost) enjoyed great circulation and reputation during the Buddhist period as warranted by the discovery of this work in the Tibetan and Ceylonese languages.

(c) Katantra School:

Another school known as Katantra school and established outside Kashmir flourished after 12 th century in Kashmir. Two authors of this system born in Kashmir were Bhatta Jagaddhara who wrote Bala-bodhini, and the second Chiku Bhatta who wrote Laghu-vrtti.

13.5 Poetics

The development of the science of poetics in India is unparallelled in the history of world literature.The science of poetics in India was known for its inductive faculty, subtle and analytical mind and a definitely scientific outlook. A remarkable contribution has been made by Kashmirians, who not only developed some of the earlier schools of poetics that flourished in India, but, also established some of the new schools. This was perhaps one of the chief subjects of study and research in Kashmir as all the major works on the subject (excluding of course, the works of Bhamaha, Dandin, Visvanatha and Rajasekhara) have been written by Kashmiris. According to Professor Sushil Kumar in South India, no doubt, this study was kept alive by a succession of brilliant, if not very original writers, but these contributions of the later times though greater in bulk and sometimes superior in a certain acuteness never superseded the volume of origina work done in Kashmir which may fittingly be regarded as the homeland, if not birthplace of *Alankara Sastra'*. Kashmiris have always been considered as the authorities on this subject. I give below in chronological order a brief account of the various schools of poetics with special reference to Kashmirian contributions:

(a) Rasa School:

This school it as founded by Bharata, the author of *Natya Sastra*. The central point of this system is Rasa or the dominant mood of human mind. Poetry according to this system appeals to human emotions and sentiments. This Rasa belongs to both the reader or spectator as well the hero of the work. Lolluta, contemporary of King Jayapida (779-813) treats Rasa as belonging to the hero only and not as a matter of spectator's feeling.

Sankuka Clown to Kalhana also, lived under Ajitpada (816 A.D.) He improves upon Lolluta's theory by calling Rasa not only in relation to spectators but also as a matter of inference.

Bhattanayaka explains Rasa in a third different way by calling it, in its final state, as communion with the highest spirit (Paramatma) while Abhinavagupta the exponent of Dhvani theory explains Rasa as manifestation (Abbivyakti).

(b) Alankara School:

The adherents of this school, Bhamaha, Dandin, Udbhata and Rudrata considered poetic embellishments or figures of speech (Alankaras) the most important part of the poetry, the Rasa being subordinate, to it. Bhamaha was the first to propound this theory in his *Kavyalankara-sutra*. But soon the Kashmirians elaborated this system and wrote commentaries.

Udbhata, a courtier of King Jayapida (779-813) wrote Kavyalankara-vrtti which is now lost, and also Alankara-sangraha which defines forty one Alankaras with illustrations from his own work *Kumara-sengraha* while he adds a number of Alankaras to Bhamaha's work, and thus supersedes the latte. He exercised profound influence over the Alankara Sastra.

Rudrata who flourished during the reign ofking Sankaravarman (900 A.D.) is the author of Kavyalankara, an extensive work divided into sixteen Adhyayas, reviewing the whole field of politics. He makes Rasa and Riti subordinate to Alankara. This work has been commented upon by a host of eminent writers such as Vallabhadeva, Asadhara, etc.

(c) Riti School:

Vamana of Kashmir and Dandin are the chief representatives of this school. This school maintains that Riti or the special arrangement or combination of words with constituent excellence is the soul of poetry.

It was Vamana, a minister of King Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813) and contemporary of Udbhata who boldly asserted in his work *Kavyalankarasutra* that Riti is the soul of poetry (ritir alma kavyasya). His

work is divided into three Adhyayas comprising of 319 Sutras, each Sutra followed by the author's own Vrtti and examples. He is the first to distinguish between Gunas and Alankara, and his work is an improvement upon Dandin.

(d) Dhvani School:

After Alankara School, Rasa School and Riti School, the Dhvani School of poetics came into existence. According to this school Rasa theory is important as it is inapplicable to single stanzas. The charm of poetry, therefore, lies in suggestion (vyangya). This theory is in a way an extension of Rasa theory. It was for the first time expounded in Kashmir and also perpetuated by later Kashmirian critics till Abhinavagupta and Mammata to such an extent that it became a settled doctrine at the time of Panditaraja Jagannatha. Again, it is Kashmirians who deserve credit here in discovering this new theory, so popular even upto this day. The first propounder of this school was Anandavaradhana, a Kashmirian. Later writers followed implicitly all the propositions laid down by him in his Dhvanyaloka. His theory, no doubt, came under fierce criticism at the hands of Patiharenduraja, Kuntala, Bhattanayaka and Mahimobhatta. The essence of Anandvardhana's theory *is 'dhvanir atma kavyasya'* i.e. Dhvani is the soul of poetry. So Dhvani-kavya, Gunibbutavyangya and Citra-kavya are the three varieties of poetry in respect of merit. The Ritis are contained in Gunas.

Anandavardhana, the author of *Dhvanyaloka* was a contemporary of king Avantivarman of Kashmir (857-884 A.D.) He is quoted by Rajasekhara, commented upon by Abbinavagupta, and quotes Udbhata. He dates, therefore, definitely in the middle of the 9th century A.D. Besides Dhvanyaloka, he has written Kavyas as Arjunacaritra and Visamavana-Lila and also Devi-sataka which is gnomic poetry. He has also commented upon *Pramana-vin scaya* of Dharamkirti.

It appears from his Dhvanyaloka that this theory of Dhvani was already started by some scholars, but he was the first to incorporate all the ideas in a regular book form. The book is divided into four parts called *Udyotas*. The first part expresses views about Dhvani and its nature. The second part gives sub-divisions of Dhvani.The third part deals with divisions of poetry on the basis of Dhvani, and the fourth part explains aims and objects and the ideals of charming poetry. Kane in his *Introduction* to Sahitya-darpana says, the Dhanyaloka is an epochmaking work in the history of Alankara literature. It occupies the same position in poetics as Panini's Astadhyayi in grammar, and Sankaracarya's *Saririka-mimamsa* in Vedanta. The work shows great erudition and critical insight. It is written in lucid and forcible style and bears the stamp of originality. Bhattatanta was the author of *Kavyakautuka*. He was the preceptor of Abhinavagupta, as acclaimed by the latter in his work Locana. He has also been quoted by the prolific writer Ksemendra.

One of his doctrines was that Santa Rasa was the head of all Rasas and it led to salvation. He flourished between 960 and 990 A.D.

Bhattenduraja was also the follower of Dhvani school of poetics. He deserves credit for imparting his knowledge to his disciple Abhinavagupta who later on expounded this theory on his lines.

Abbinavagupta, the famous poet, critic, philosopher and saint of Kashmir is the author of numerous brilliant works. His *Abhinavabharati* is the best commentary on *Natya-sastra* of Bharata. His Tantraloka is the famous work on Kashmiri Saivism. His Paramarthasara, a poem of 100 Arya verses, is again a philosophical treatise. *IsvarapratyabhijnaKarika* is a commentary on *Pratyabhijna sastra* of Somananda. He commented upon *The Bhagavadgita* and he wrote a commentary upon Anandvardhan's Dhvanyalokaentitled, *Dhvanyaloka-locana or Locana* in its abbreviated form. His Locana is an exhaustive commentary incorporating in it the author's original views regarding the sentiments (rasas) and Sadharikarna and Dhvani. The Dhvani School received greater impetus in his hands than in the hands of the originator. He further transmitted this system to his disciple Mammatacarya, the famous author of *Kavyaprakasa*. He was not only a profound philosopher, but also an acute critic and successful poet. He lived in the later part of the 10th century A.D. He wrote more than forty works.

Candraka, who belonged to the same family as of Abhinavagupta also wrote a commentary on *Dhoanyaloka*. It is a minor work on the subject and stands no comparison with *Locana*.

Acarya Rajanka Mammata is know to the whole Sanskrit world through his world famous work on poetics, viz. *Kavya-prakasa*. Mammata was a Kashmirian Brahamana who lived in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. He belonged to a family of scholars, as is apparent from Bhimasena's *Sudhasagara-tika*, according to which he was elder brother of Kaiyata, the author of *Mahavhasyapradipa*, and of Uvata the commentator of Rkpratisakhya, the son of Jaiyata, and also the maternal uncle of famous Sanskrit poet Srinarsa, the author of *Naisadha-carita*. His birth place was Balahom village near Pampore.

His *Kavya-prakasa*, comprising ten chapters, is an all comprehensive work on poetics, which holds such a unique position in the field of poetics that it is studied as a text book in almost all the postgraduate courses in Sanskrit literature in the Indian Universities. About seventy commentaries on the same work by ancient and modern scholars is again a proof of its popularity. The merit of the book won for the author the title 'avatara' of goddess Sarsvati. The author deals with all the topics except dramaturgy. He quotes profusely from other poets. He possesses independent judgement and is mostly original in his thoughts. In South India, Narayana Bhattatir has written a famous stotra work *Narayaniyam*. God Vishnu came to him in disguise and asked him to correct the work on the basis of the principles of rhetorics as given by Mammata in Kavya Prakasha.

Allata was another Kashmirian, to whom credit goes in continuing the tenth chapter of Mammata's *Kavya-prakasa-alankara* which had remained incomplete on account of the author's death. He also wrote commentary on *Harvijaya-Kavya* of Ratnkara who was a Kashmirian poet during the reign of Avantivarman according to Kalhana. He is said to be the son of Rajanaka Jayanaka.

Manikyacandra was another Kashmirian, who wrote the first, and the most reliable commentary on *Kavya-prakasa*. He lived in the later part of the 12th century A.D. and his work dates 1159 A.D.

Rajanka Ruyyaka belonged to the same Rajanka family of Kashmiri Pandits. His Alankara-sarvasva is a standard work on Dhvani-vad. His work briefly summarises the views of his predecessors Bhamaha, Udbhata, Rudrata, Vamana and Anandavardhana. Ruyyaka was son of Rajanka Tilaka. He quotes Bilhana and Mammata, and is quoted by Manikyacandra, and therefore,dates in the second half fo the 12th century A.D.

Vakrokti School

The fifth School of Sansklit poetics is the Vakrokti school. Vakrokti is a striking mode of speech based on Slesh and differing from the plain matter of fact, and an ordinary mode of speech. Kuntaka (or Kuntali,) was the originator of his school. He probable flourished in the later part of the 10th century. Later, Rajanaka Mahimabhatta, the author of *Vyaleti Viveka* (belonging to the second half of 11th century), continued this school. He is commented upon by Ryyaka in his Vyakti-VivekaVichar.' Ruyyaka demolished the theory of Dhvani by his strong arguments and logical criticism. Kane calls it fine of the master-pieces of Sanskrit poetics.

13.6 Other Critics

Kshemendra, the polyhistor of Kashmir, son of Prakashendra, disciple of the famous critic Abhinavagupta, and a courtier of king Anantaraja of Kashmir (1028-1080 A.D.) is the author of a score of literary works on different subjects such as poetry, epics, history, morals, philosophy, religion, sociology, Prosody, besides two important works on rhetorics, namely *Auchitya Vichara* and *Kavi-Kanthabhasna*. The other works of Kshemendra are Dashavatara-Charita, Padya-Kadambari, BharataManjari, Ramayana-Manjari, Brihatkatha-Manjari, Avadana-Kalpalata, Nripavali, Darpa-Dalana, Charucharya-Shalaka, Sevya-Sevaka-Upadesha, Chaturvarga-Sangraha, Kala-Vilasa, Samaya-Matrika etc.

Utpaladeva, Rajanaka Ratnakantha, Khira and Jayaratha are other Kashmirian critics worth mentioning.

It is thus obvious that the whole literature of Sanskrit poetics has been made rich and abundant by Kashmirian critics, who have contributed the major portion through their original discoveries in the field.

13.7 Metrics and Prosody

The originator of the the science of metrics was Pingala, the author of *Pingala Sutra,* who was most probably a Kashmirian, as proved by Ramaprapanna Shastri, the editor of Vritta-Ratnakara of Kedarabhatta Ramachandra Banddha, a resident of Bijbihara (Kashmir), who later became chief minister of King Mauryaparakramabahu of Ceylon has written a commentary upon Vrittaratnakara.

13.8 Lexicography

Mankha of Mankhaka, the disciple of Ryyaka, has written besides some poetical works a lexicon entitled *Anekarthn Kasha* which deals with homonyms, and makes a good improvement on the works of his predecessors Amarasimha, Shashvata, Halayadha and Dhanvantari.

13.9 Music

Sarangadena, the author of Sangita-Rahlakara, belonging to the 13th century was probably a Kashmirian. His erudition in music, medicine and philosophy, all in combination is revealed in this work.

13.10 Epics

Poetry has been a special theme with the Kashmiri Pandits. Kashmir has produced a host of master poets whose celebrated works in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Kashmiri, Persian and Urdu have remained unparallelled. The natural bounty of Kashmir elevated their souls and turned them into poets, scholars and saints.

Bhartrimentha, a contemporary of King Matrigupta of Kashmir (430 A.D.) wrote an epic entitled *Hayagrivavadha* of which only quotations are traceable. Bhatta Bhanmaka, a courtier of king Sridharsena II of Vallabhi (600 A.D.) wrote *Ravanarjuniya* on the model of Bhatti-Kavya, in 27 cantos, narrating the strife between Arjuna Kartavirya and Ravana as found in the Ramayana. Shri Harsha, the author of *Naishadha-charita* was himself not a Kashmirian, but his mother belonged to Kashmir, and the celebrated critic Mammatacharya (the author of world famous work Kavya Prakasha) was his maternal uncle.

Rajanaka Vagishvara Ratnakara, son of Amritabhanu, who flourished under King Jayapida (832-844 A.D.) and King Avantivarman (855-884), has written a stupendous work of 50 cantos and 4321 verses entitled Hara-Vijaya, relating the story of Shiva, slaying by Shiva of the demon Andhaka. The epic was commented upon by Alaka. Poet Kshemendra has praised this work for command of Vasantatilaka metre.

Sivasvamin, son of Arkasvyamin, during the reign of king Avantivaraman, and a contemporary of poet Ratnakara has written in 20 cantos an epic entitled *Kapphinabhyudaya*, relating the Avadana story of King Kapphina of Daksinapatha, who invaded the territory of King Prasenajit of Sravasti, but becomes a Buddhist miraculously. The story is based on a tale on Avadana-sataka. The poet imitates Bharavi and Magha. Kalkhana mentions him as a contemporary of Rathakara and Anandavardhana. He dedicates his poem to Siva, but at the same time glorifies Buddha. This should not look odd to a modern reader, for he should bear in mind that Kashmir was a great Buddhist centre with a composite culture of Buddhism and Saivism. In fact Buddhism was so incorporated, that Ksemendra included Buddha among the ten Hindu Avataras in his *Dasavatar-carita*.

Abhinanda, son of Jayantabhatta, the logician, who flourished in the 19th century A.D. wrote Kadambari-katha-sara, an epitome of Bana's Kadambari in epic form. He has been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra and Bhoja.

Mankha, son of Visvavarta, a minister of King Jayasimha of Kashmir (1127-1150 A.D.), wrote the famous epic *Srikantha-carita*. He was a pupil of the critic Ruyyaka, and his three brothers Srinagar, Bhanga and Alankara were all scholars and state officials. He is the same lexicographer who wrote *Anekartha-kosa*. The epic in 25 cantos narrates the story of overthrow of the demon Tripura by Siva. The

author gives an account of himself and his family. He was a contemporary of historian Kalhana, who mentions him as a minister (sandhivigrahika) of King Jayasinha.

Mankha also mentions Kalhana's elegant style and names him as Kalyana. Srikantha-carita, is an epic in elegant style, and is a faithful example of the rules of poetics regarding the composition of a phenomena of nature (e.g. sunset, moonrise and morning) reminding the reader of the rich scenery of Kashmir. This work has been commented upon by Jonaraja, the historian.

Rajanaka Jayartha, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. under King Rajdeva of Kashmir, has composed an extensive poem ***Hara-carita-cintamani*** based on Saiva myths and practices. This work describes some of the pilgrimages of Kashmir connected with Saivism. It can well be called an abridged Siva-Purana.

Ksemendra, the polymath, whose account has been given earlier, has written a number of epics, viz Dasavatara-carita, Bharatamanjari, Ramayana manjari, Brhatkatha-manjari, and Padya-kadambari. Dasavatara-carita glorifies ten incarnations of Visnu, including Gautama Buddha as one of the incarnations. The incarnations are Matsya, Kurma Varaha, Narsimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Rama, Krishna, Buddha, and Kalki. It was composed in 1066 A.D.

Unlike other Sanskrit epic writers, Ksemendra's style is simple and flowing. He has not endeavoured to bring in artificialities and intricacies of style. He made a good blending of morals and poetry.

Mention has already been made of Vikramakadeva-carita of Bilhana, as a historical work. This work has as much poetical merit as it has historical significance. It is not out of place to summarise the poetical significance of this historical Mahakavya. Having been educated thoroughly in his native village Khonamukha (near Rampur town in Kashmir) by his father who was himself a learned scholar, and also outside Kashmir at Mathura, Kanyakubja, Prayaga and Varanasi which he visited as a wandering scholar, he had accomplished himself as a perfect poet with mastery over Vaidarbha style of Sanskrit poetry. 'His style is not easy, but elegant and normally attractive; it is doubtless studied, but not overdone with subtleness of thought and expression; it is fully embellished, but reasonable, clear and effective in its verbal and metrical skill The epic has got eighteen cantos and the description of the death of Ahavamalla in canto IV is his masterpiece.

As says Keith, he is more of a poet than a historian. He could not be an authentic historian since he was under royal patronage which influenced his objectivity and writing a faithful Mahakavya, for which he had to blend a love theme with history, he had to digress from mere historical narrative.

Kalidasa, the Shakespeare of India, the master-mind and admittedly the greatest poet of Sanskrit, is believed to be a Kashmirian by some Sanskrit scholars. The rich knowledge that the poet possessed about flora and fauna of mountain regions, his knowledge of saffron (which is a product of Kashmir) his personal philosophy relating to Saivism of Kashmir, the suggestiveness of the title ***abhijnana*** (in Sakuntalam) with

Pratbhijna Sastra of Kashmir, and such suggestive facts may lead us to conjecture that he was a Kashmirian. This point is, however, not conclusive and requires active research and investigation in comparison with other historical evidences. But in case the above theory comes true, Kashmir wins the trophy. In that case his two epics, Kumara-Sambhava and ***Raghu-Vanmsa***, and his three dramas, ***Malavkagnimitra, Vikrama Lorvashiya, Abhijana-sakuntala,*** and his two lyrics ***Megha***duta and ***Ritu-samhara*** are the best contributions of Kashmir. Dr. Lakshmi Dhar former Head of Sanskrit Deptt., Delhi University, has proved Kalidasa as a Kashmirian

13.11 Shorter Poems (Khanda Kavyas)

Besides Mahakavyas, we find a number of short poems-narrative or lyrical-written by Kashmirians.

Bilhana, has written a beautiful erotic poem ***Caurapanchsika*** in fifty stanzas, depicting secret love of a robber chief and a princess, in Vasantalata metre, each stanza beginning with the phrase ***'adyapi tam'***. Each star is a masterpiece, depicting vividly and minutely the past scenes of happy love.

"If I could see once again towards evening, that beloved with fawn-like eyes and milk-white rounded pitcher like breasts, gladly would I forego the pleasure of kingdom, paradise and salvation".

The intense feelings and deep emotions aroused here are definitely the proof of his master-skill. The poem has got two recensions viz. South India recision and Kashmiri recension The latter is more authentic.

Matrgupta, the illustrious King of Kashmir who patronised poet Bhartmentha, was himself a poet, though none of his works is extant. He is said to have written a commentary on the Natya-sastra of Bharata of which quotations remain. He has been sometimes confused with Kalidasa.

Silhana, another Kashmirian poet wrote *Santisataka*. He probably dates 12th century A.D. This work reveals profound influence of Buddhism upon him. His poetry resembles that of Bhartrihari in his Vairagya-sataka.

Sambu another Kashmirian who flourished during the reign of King Harsa of Kashmir (1089-1101) wrote a poem of 108 verses titled *Anyoktimuktalata-sataka,* Rajendra-karnapura has been mentioned earlier as a historical, narrative and panegyric, eulogising King Harsa. Jonaraja, the historian, has commented upon Prthviraja-vijaya, a work of an unknown Kashmirian author. Hiracanda Ojha and Belevelkar conjecture its author to be Jayanka. Its composition may date between 1178 and 1193 A.D.

Sankuka who flourished in the reign of Ajitpida of Kashmir (8th century A.D.) has been referred to by Kalhana to have written Bhuvanabhudaya in which he had described a fierce battle between Mammata and Utpala. The work is lost. Anthologies also ascribe some verses to Sankuka.

13.12 Gnomic and Didactic Poetry

A lot of poetical works written by Kashmirians falls under the head of didactic poetry, due to the peculiar nature and theme of the poems. Ksemendra, the polymath is acclaimed to be the greatest moralist in Sanskrit poetical literature.

His *Samaya-matrka* is a poem of eight chapters in Sloka metre, narrating the story of a young courtesan Kalavti introduced by a barber to an old expert lady Kankali for detailed instruction in her profession. There is an exact picture of wandering singers, beggars, beggar women, shop-girls, holy saints, thieves and such classes of people, with a lofty satire. It is inspite of its obvious coarseness, an interesting specimen of an approach to satirical writing, which is so rarely cultivated in Sanskrit His *Kala-vilasa* depicts, in ten chapters, various occupations and follies of the people of the time. In this poem a fraudulent Muladev instructs his young disciple Candragupta in the art of roguery practiced by doctors, harlots, traders, goldsmiths, actors, astrologers, beggars, singers and saints. His Darpa-Dalana condemns pride which usually springs from seven sources, namely birth, wealth, knowledge, beauty, courage, generosity and asceticism. His Sevya-sevakopadesa discusses the relation between servants and their masters. His Carucarya-sataka lays down rules of good conduct, illustrated by myths and legends. His Caturvarga-sangraha deals with four objects of human life, namely, virtue, wealth, love and salvation. In his *Desopadesa*, he describes all types of people living in Kashmir during his days, namely the cheat, the miser, the prostitute, old men, the degraded Saiva teacher, the false ascetic, crafty merchant and the like, *Narmamala* also contains similar series of pen-pictures. Ksemendra is perfect in his humorous and satirical style. Throughout his works, there is, nevertheless, a moral aim. In satire and painting of pen-pictures, he reigns supreme in Sanskrit literature.

Bhallata, who flourished under King Sankaravarman (883-902) of Kashmir, has written *Beellata-sataka* in 108 stanzas, dealing with morality and conduct. The work is cited by Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra, Kuntala and Mammata.

Jalhana, similarly has written *Mugdopadesa* in 65 verses dealing with deception of courtesans

Damodaragupta, minister of Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813) wrote *Kuttani-mata* dealing with advice of a courtesan

13.13 Devotional Poetry

A good number of devotional songs or stories have been inspired by the deep religious tendencies among Kashmirians. Often weighted with theological and philosophical ideas, their literary merit is beyond question. A long tradition of chanting devotional songs continues even upto the present day in Hindu homes and temples. Some of the songs are very popular and have been uttered by the Kashmirian devout minds from generations. Majority of the songs are Saivite poems, which is natural in a land where Saivism flourished. The Buddhist hymns will be discussed elsewhere under 'Buddhist Literature'. The hymns based on Hinduism are mentioned below.

Ratnakara, the writer of *Hara-Vijaya*, has written *Vakrokti-pancasika* dealing with love of Siva and Parvati in fifty stanzas, and illustrating side by side clever use of punning ambiguities. *Anandavardhana*, the founder of Dhvani of poetics, has composed *Devi-sataka* in hundred verses eulogising and glorifying the goddess Parvati. It reveals more of ornamentation than devotion. But it has, no doubt, inspired his successors in writing similar stotras Utpaladeva the great Saivite, who was son of Udayakara and pupil of Somananda (the founder of Pratyabhijna school of Saivism) has written *Paramesa-stotravali* of Pratyabbijna which enlogises Siva in twenty devotional songs. Avatara has composed *Israra-sataka*, which *is* similar to Stotravali,

Puspadanta's *Siva-mahimnah-stotra* has received high popularity among the Kashmirians Jayantabhatta mentions it in his *Nyaya-manjari*, and therefore, it belongs to not later than the 9th century A.D. and, hence, it has inspired other writers to write *mahimnah stotras* in praise of other gods.

Jagaddharabhatta has composed *Stuti-kusumanjuli* and Kalhana, the historian, composed a short poem of eighteen stanzas, titled *'Ardhanarisavara-stotra'*. An unknown Kashmirian author composed *Sambapancasika*, an eulogy in praise of the sun God, in fifty verses in Mandakranta metre. It has Saiva background, even though it is in praise of the sun. It has been commented upon by Ksemaraja in 13th century A.D Sambha son of Krsna, whom it has referred to is a mythical name.

13.14 Anthologies (Subhasitavali)

Preparation of anthologies among the Kashmiris was quite common. Vallabhadeva' (11th century A.D.) compiled *Subhasitavali* containing 3527 verses in 101 sections quoting about 360 authors. The topics included are varied e.g. love, nature, conduct, wordly wisdom and witty sayings.

Jalhana, the author of *Somapala-vilasa* and *Mugdhopadesa*, composed *Sakti-Muktavali* or *Subhashita Muktavali* containing 2790 verses,in 133 sections on the model of Vallabhadeva's work. One of its sections is very valuable from the point of view of literary history, as it contains traditional verses on Sanskrit poets.

Srivaras the historian, pupil of Jonaraja who continued *Rajatarangini* has compiled Subhasitavali quoting 380 poets. It dates about 1480 A D.

13.15 Popular Tales

An enormous literature on folk-tales of India was compiled by a South Indian writer named Gunadhya in the form of *Brhat-kata* Unfortunately this work which worked as a store house of popular tales to be drawn upon freely by later writers for poetical composition was lost, and it exist only in the form of the three abridged versions, two of which have come from Kashmir *viz. Brhatkatha-manjari* of Ksemendra and *Kathasarit-sagara* of Somadeva and the third version from Nepal viz B*rhatkatha-slokasangraha* of Buddhasvamin, which is not so important as it contains only a fragment of the original and only a fragment of the work is available. It again differs from the two Kashmirian versions, in matter and spirit.

Ksemendra's *Brhatkatha-manjari* written in 1063-66 A.D. is a faithful summary of the original Brhatkatha which appears to have been written in Paisaci Rose. It contains 7500 stanzas. The author has

been a mere condenser, but has interpolated elegant description in frequent occasions, which has made the narrative truly charming. The work is divided into 18 chapters called Nambhakas with subdivisions called Gucchas.

Somadeva, son of Rama wrote *Kathasarit-sagara*, containing 21388 stanzas in 18 books (Lambhakas) and 124 chapters (Tarangas) in the years 1063-81 A.D. The writer's aim was to divert the mind of unhappy Suryamati, a princess of Jalandhara, wife of King Ananta and mother of Kalasa. It bears close resemblance with Ksemendra's work.

In comparison with Brhatkatha-manjari its style is simple and it has maintained rapid flow of a simple narrative. Some stories have a Buddhist influence. Again it reflects the life of the people of Kashmir of his times.

13.16 Drama

Ksemendra wrote a number of plays. These are lost and are known only from his citations in his works on rhetorics. *Citra-bharata* and *Kanaka-janaki* appear to be his two prominent plays based on the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. His Lalitaratnamala is another play mentioned by him.

Bilhana has written *Karna-sundari* dealing with marriage of Karndeva Trailokymalla of Anhilvad (1064-94 A.D).) with a Princess Miyanalla Devi of Karnataka,

The famous dramatist Visakhadatta, writer of Mudraraksasa might have been a Kashmirian if his reference to King Avantivarman in his *Bharatavakya* is cofirmed by authentic text and other evidences. Similar confirmation is needed about Kalidasa as a Kashmirian.

13.17 Buddhist Literature

That Kashmir has been an important centre for the development and spread of Buddhism, has been discovered and confirmed by recent researches. It convoyed high reputation for Buddhist learning, and carried the Buddhist doctrine from India to Tibet, China and Central Asia. A host of Kashmirian Buddhist scholars translated Sanskrit and Prakrit works into foreign languages, wrote commentaries on older works, and travelled to distant countries in order to propagate the faith. A brief account of some known Buddhist poets and philosophers is given below.

A Kashmirian Matrcata has written two devotional poems; *Satpancasatka-stotra* and *Catus-satakastotra*, which have recently been discovered in Central Asia. The most important Buddhist devotional poem is Sarvajnamitra's *Sragdharastotra*, written in praise of Buddhist goddess Tara, the female counterpart of Avalokitesvata. The poem containing 37 verses is written in Sragdhara metre. He flourished during the time of King Lalitaditya. Kalhana mentions him, and praises him to the extent of comparing him with Buddha himself. The author has written several other stotras.

It was Kumarajiva, probably a Kashmirian monk, who was invited by the Emperor of China in 401 A.D. to his capital, where he wrote and translated into Chinese a number of Buddhist works, including Tattvasidhi of Harivarman, a Kashmiri scholar. Other Kashmirians who contributed to Buddhism and spread it in China in the 5th century A.D. are: Buddhayana, Gunavarma, and Dharamitra.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kashmir in the 7th century A.D. and stayed there for two years has mentioned a number of Kashmiri scholars, viz. Skandila, the writer of *Vibhasaprakarana-pada-Sastra*, Purna, the commentator on the above work, Bodhila, the writer of *Tattvasancaya-sastra*; Visuddhasimha, Jinabandhu, Sagalamitra, Vasumitra, Jinatara, Suryadeva and Vimalmitra.

There is a reference of Ratna-cinta a Kashmirian Buddhist who worked in China front 693 to 706 A.D. and translated *Ekaksara-dharani* and many other texts. Amoghavajra, Prajnabala, Tabuta and Ganuta were other Kashmirians who visited China. Ananta worked similarly in Tibet in the middle of the 8th century A.D. Jinamitra, Dhanshila, and Santigarbha also revised Buddhist works. A great Kashmiri scholar, who worked in Tibet, and who is even now remembered by Tibetans is Subhati Sri Santi.

Mention must be made of another Kashmirian Buddhist scholar Smrtyakara Siddha, who was one of the eight great Panditas in Vikramasila University in the middle of the 11th century A.D. and also of Ratnavajra another honoured Pandit of the University, and lastly of Sakya Sri Bhadra who was the Chancellor of the University at the close of the 12th Century A.D. who later on went to Tibet when Baktiar Khilli destroyed the University.

Kashmir has, thus, made no less contribution to Buddhism. The whole period from 273 B.C. to 600 A.D. in Kashmir's history is Buddhist period. Ashoka brought in Kashmir Buddhism in 273 B.C. Buddhism was a mature religion when it entered Kashmir. It had introduced systematized education, taught equality of all, and given full status to women. Kashmir welcomed this religion. Later Emperor Kaniska held his fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir, wherein 100,000 stanzas of commentaries on each of the three classes of canonical literature, viz. Sutra, Vinaya and Abhidharma were composed. A huge number of Viharas and monasteries were established in every nook and corner of the valley, the remains of which are existent even now. Buddhism in Kashmir incidentally gave impetus to Gandhara or the IndoGreek art. During Ashoka's rule Kashmir and Gandhara came close together. In recent time, a good number of Buddhist sculptures have been found in Kashmir which represent Gandhara art.

Buddhism again had profound influence upon the life and culture of Kashmirians, and this influence still continues even after its decay upto the present day. The Buddhist Tantric rites are retained in Saivism. But more important than this from the cultural point of view, is the leading part that Kashmir took in spreading it to the neighbouring countries e.g. China and Tibet. 'Kashmir' says P. C. Bagchi, 'takes the leading part in transmission of Buddhist traditions directly to China'. The number of Buddhist scholars who went to China from Kashmir is larger than that of those who went from other parts of India. Kashmir was the most flourishing centre of Buddhist learning in India in this period. It was the centre of the most powerful Buddhist sect of Northern India, the Sarvastivada.

13.18 Kashmirian Saivism

The greatest contribution of Kashmir to Indian culture is the development of a new philosophy, more rational than other philosophies of India, and a definite improvement upon Vedanta philosophy. Unlike Vedanta which regards the physical world a trap and delusion (Maya) and creates a tendency of withdrawing from the wordly life, Kashmiri Saivism accepts the reality of the phenomenal world as a manifestation of the Universal mind. It is synthesis of the realism of the West and idealism of the East, welding the science (of the material world) and religion in a devotional monotheism. A Kashmirian could not afford to shut his eyes from the enchanting beauty of nature revealed in his homeland, and call it unreal. But instead he calls it manifestation of the divinity, or the divine energy (Sakti) which is the source of the whole movement of the universe, and Siva-Universal mind. It is this divine energy that acts as central fire, stirring each and every atom (Anu) with its sparks.

Jiva is nothing but the atom with the divine spark. Siva, Sakti and Anu are thus the three fundamental principles of Saivism. It is, therefore, named as Trika philosophy. It gave Kashmir a revelation of life as real dynamic endowed with creative possibilities, and not as a deception or illusion. It retorted that maya of Sankara had a defeatist tone, symptomatic of disillusionment and loss to the individual and the nation.

Vasugupta (825 A.D.) the author of *Siva-sutra* was the first to discover and explain the Agamic teaching of Saivism in a systematic form. It is said that this knowledge was revealed to him in the Harvan Valley. He explained these sutras in the form of Spanda-Karika. Bhatta Kallata, a pupil of Vasugupta, gave publicity to his master's work and wrote *Spanda-sarvasva*.

Somananda (850 A.D.) who was a younger contemporary of Vasugupta, made a little departure from Vasugupta, and founded the Pratyabhijna school of Saivism as opposed to the Spanda school of Vasugupta. Both these branches developed side by side, but the latter received more popularity. Somananda says that the Ultimate can be realized through recognition (Pratyabhinjana) of it by the individual in himself in practical life. This principal of recognition is absent in Spanda. Somananda's work is entitled *Sivadrsti*.

The Spanda branch received further exposition at the hands of Utpala, the pupil of Bhatta Kallata who wrote *Spanda-pradipika* (a commentary) and of Ksemaraja who wrote *Spanda-nirnaya* in the 11th century A.D.

The Pratyabbijna system was further elaborately discussed by Utpalacarya, a pupil of Somananda who wrote *Isvarapratyabhijna-karika* and *Isrerasiddhi* with his own Vrtti, in about 930 A.D.

Abbinavagupta, grand pupil of Utpalacarya, is an authority on Pratyabhijna system. *Isvarapratyabhijua-karika* and his own *tika* are two commentaries on Utpalacarya's work. Besides, he wrote a number of such works, out of which

Paramarthasara, *Tantriloka*, *Tantrasara*, *Sivadretilocana* deserve special mention. Abhinavagupta related the monastic Saivism to the recognized Sivagamas, the Indian aesthetic theory on the basis of this system.

Ksemaraja (1040 A.D.) summarised the system in the form of Pratyabhijna-hrdaya.

Yogaraja (1060 A.D.) wrote a commentary of *Paramarthasara*.

Jayaratha (1180 A.D.) commented upon Tantraloka.

Bhaskaranatha (18th century A.D.) commented upon Isvara-pratyabhijna-vimarsini, Varadaraja wrote *Siva-sutra-vartika.*

A host of other writers developed upon this system. Pradyumna Bhatta, Mahadeva Bhatta and Jayaratha deserves special mention. The last Saiva writer was Sivopadbyaya during 9th century A.D.

Saivism remained, thus, a living and active faith of the Kashmirians from the 9th century onwards. The rite of Saivism was responsible for the progress in all the sciences and arts. It helped them to cultivate a scientific and rational attitude of life. It is this philosophy that helped them to bear the brunt of foreign invasions and fierce onslaughts of the Muslims from thirteenth century onwards. It became the basis of the Tantric religion which was the practical and the ritual side of this system.

It is not out of place to mention here that, although Saivism was the dominating philosophy, other philosophies also were being studied keenly. Jayantabhatta wrote *Nyaya-manjari* in about 910 A.D. This work is an independent treatise on the Nyaya system and at the same time a commentary on a number of Nyaya-sutras.

Tradition says that Mandana-misra, the famous *Mimmsaka*, who had philosophical discussion with Sankara, belonged to Kashmir. It is yet to be proved on the basis of other evidences. He wrote three important works on Vedanta viz. *Brahma-siddhi*, Sphota-siddhi and *Vibhrama-viveka*. His three works on Mimamsa are *Vidhi-viveka*, Bhavana-viveka, and *Mumamsanukramanika*.

14 Language and Politics in Jammu and Kashmir

Issues and Perspectives

K. Warikoo

Language is the most powerful means of communication, vehicle of expression of cultural values and aspirations and instrument of conserving culture. As such language is an important means to acquire and preserve identity of a particular group or community. Language and culture are interrelated because the language regions possess certain homogeneity of culture and are characterized by common traits in history, folklore and literature. Among various cultural symbol-religion, race, language, traditions and customs, etc. that differentiate an ethnic group from the other, language is the most potent cultural marker providing for group identity. Its spatial spread over a fixed territory makes language more important than religion as a basis of ethnic identity formation.

In the emerging world order, when rise of ethno- nationalism is posing a major challenge to the nation state, political assertion of language or religious identities has assumed importance. However, events in Pakistan which was established in 1947 as an Islamic state on the basis of religious factor, have demonstrated the inherent conflict between language and religious identities. It was the language variable that led to the break-up of Pakistan in 1971 and the creation of a new independent nation- Bangladesh. Bengali language proved to be more powerful an ethnic factor than common Muslim identity. Similarly political manifestation of language rivalry has now gained primacy in the ongoing ethnic conflicts between Sindhis, Punjabis, Saraikis, Baluchis and Urdu speakers in Pakistan, even though all of them belong to the Muslim umma. Ironically, it is religion rather than language that has been the key motivating and mobilizing factor in the present secessionist movement in Kashmir. Yet there have been frequent though vague references by the political and intellectual elite to propose various solutions to the problems on the basis of 'Kashmiriat'. Since language and particularly mother tongue forms the core of this much publicized concept of 'Kashmiriat', this study has been undertaken to analyse the complex dynamics of language and politics in the multi-lingual state of Jammu and Kashmir. Often described as a three-storeyed edifice composed of three geographical divisions of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Baltistan, bound together by bonds of history and geography and linked together by a common destiny, Jammu and Kashmir State presents a classic case of linguistic and ethno- religious diversity.

14.1 Language Demography

An in-depth and objective study of the language situation in Jammu and Kashmir State calls for an understanding of the language demography of the State which would indicate the spatial distribution of various linguistic groups and communities. This in turn reflects the variegated ethino no- cultural mosaic of the State. The language and cultural areas are not only correlated but are generally specific to a particular area (See Map at the end of this chapter). For purposes of this study, J&K Census Reports of 1941, 1961, 1971 and 1981 have been relied upon. (No census has been carried out in the State in 1951 and 1991). The population of various linguistic groups as detailed in each of these Censuses, is given below in Tables 1 to 4.

Table 1
J&K: Major Linguistic Population Groups, 1941
Total Population of J&K (1941 Census)= 40,21,616

Language	J&K state	Kashmir Province	Jammu Province	Ladakh*	Gilgit, Gilgit Agency, Astor etc
Kashmiri	15,49,460[1]	13,69,537	1,78,390	1174	323
Punjabi (Dogri)	10,75,273[2]	73,473[3]	10,00,018	453	1329
Rajasthani (Gujari)[4]	2,83,741	92,392	1,87,980	Nil	3369
Western Paharis [5]	5,31,319	1,70,432[6]	3,60,870[7]	5	12
Hindustani[8] (Hindi & Urdu)	1,78,528	10,631	1,67,368	22	507
Lahnda (Pothwari)	82,993	8	82,975[9]	5	5
Balti	1,34,012	352	184	1,33,163	313
Ladakhi	46,953	230	299	46,420	4
Shina (Dardi)	84,604	7,888[10]	114	13,562	63,040[11]
Burushaski[12]	33,132	3	Nil	244	32,885
Tibetan	503	26	145	317	15

* Before independence, Skardo/Baltistan (now in Palk-occupied Kashmir/ Northern Areas) was a Tehsil of Ladakh District.

1. In the 1941 census, persons speaking Kishtwari (11,170), Siraji (17,617), Rambani (1,202), Poguli (5,812) and Banjwahi (747), totalling 36,548 persons have been included under the head Kashmiri.
2. Dogri has been taken as a dialect under Punjabi, thereby enumerating 4,13,754 Punjabi speaking persons mainly in Mirpur together with 6,59,995 Dogri speakers.
3. Out of this figure, 48,163 persons are form Muzaffarabad (now in POK).
4. Gujari, the language of Gujars has been included with Rajasthani.
5. Pahari, which is enumerated separately, is closely connected with Gujari and is spoken in much the same areas.
6. Includes 1,55,595 persons in Muzaffarabad (now in POK).
7. Includes 2,36,713 persons in Poonch, Haveli, Mendhar.
8. Hindi and Urdu have been combined and enumerated as Hindustani.
9. Nearly all (82,887 persons) are concentrated in Mirpur.
10. Includes 7,785 persons in Baramulla (Gurez area).
11. Shina language is spoken chiefly in Gilgit area.
12. It is mainly spoken in Hunza, Nagar and Yasin.

Table 2
J&K: Major Linguistic Population Groups, 1961
Total Population of J&K, (1961 Census) = 35,60,976

Language	J&K State	Kashmir Province	Jammu Province	Ladakh District
Kashmiri	18 96,149	17,17,259	1,78,281 (Mainly in Doda)	609
Dogri	8,69,199	1,784	8,67,201	214
Gojri	2,09,327	64,493	1,44,834	Nil
Ladakhi	49,450	79	42	49,829
Punjabi	1,09,174	32,866	76,308	Nil
Balti	33,458	514	38	32,905 (Miainly in Kargil)
Hindi	22,323	2,494	19,868	61
Urdu	12,445	3,504	8,941	Nil
Dardi/Shina	7,854	7,605 (Mainly in Gurez area of Baramulla)	30	219
Tibetan	2,076	Nil	148	1,899

Table 3
J&K: Major Linguistic Population Groups, 1971
Total population of J&K, (1971 Census) = 46,16,632

Language	J&K State	Kashmir Division	Jammu Division	Ladakh Division
Kashmiri	24,53,430	21,75,588	2,75,070	772
Dogri	11,39,259	8,161	11,30,845	253
Hindi* (Gujari)	6,95,375	1,80,837	5,14,177	361
Ladakhi	59,823	1,446	1,562	56,815
Punjabi	1,59,098	46,316	1,12,258	524
Lahanda (Pothwari)	22,003	109	21,894 (Mainly in Rajauri)	Nil
Urdu	12,740	4,521	8,209	10
Balti	40,135	822	280	39,033 (Mainly in Kargil)
Shina	10,274	9,276 (Mainly in Gurez area of Bramulla)	251	747
Tibetan	3,803	867	Nil	2,936

* Gujari, the language of Gujars has been included with Hindi.

Table 4
J&K: Major Linguistic Population Groups, 1981
Total population of J&K, (1981 Census) = 59,87,389

Language	J&K State	Kashmir Division	Jammu Division	Ladakh Division
Kashmiri	31,33,146	28,06,441 (Mainly in Doda Dist.)	3,28,229	1,476
Dogri	14,54,441	2,943	14,51,329	169
Hindi* (Gujari)	10,12,808	2,55,310 (Mainly in Baramulla and Kupwara Districts)	7,67,344 (Mainly in Doda, Punch and Rajauri Districts)	155
Ladakhi	71,852	471	1,190	70,191
Punjabi	1,63,049	41,181	1,21,668	200
Lahanda (Pothwari)	13,184	21	13,163	Nil
Urdu	6,867	3,830	3,019	18
Balti	47,701	811	Nil	46,890 (Mainly in Kargil)
Shina (Dardi)	15,017	12,159 (Mainly in Gurez area of Baramula)	Nil	2,858 (Mainly in Dah Hanu)
Tibetan	4,178	796 (Mainly in Srinagar)	Nil	3,382 (Mainly in Leh Tehsil)

* Gujari, the language of Gujars has been included with Hindi.

The people of J&K State, whether Kashmiris, Dogras, Gujars-Bakarwals, Ladakhis, Baltis, Dards, etc. have in all the censuses unambiguously identified their indigenous languages as their 'mother-tongues' thereby consolidating their respective ethno-linguistic and cultural identities. This is particularly important in view of the fact that the Muslims of the State have thus acted in a manner quite different from that of Muslims in most of the Indiar states.

It is also in stark contrast to the experience in Punjab, where Hindus though speaking Punjabi at home earlier claimed Hindi as their mother tongue during the census operations. Similarly, the Muslims in various Indian States such as Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala etc. who registered local languages as their mother-tongues in 1951 Census, opted for Urdu in 1961 and afterwards, thereby leading to a dramatic rise in the number of Urdu speaking persons in India. Same is the case with the Muslims of Uttar Pradesh, who registered their language as Hindustani in 1951 Census, but have been claiming Urdu as their mother tongue subsequently. This demonstrates the urge of the Muslims in other Indian states to identify themselves with Urdu rather than with Hindustani (the basic substratum of Hindi and Urdu, it does not have any communal and politicised connotation) or the indigenous mother tongues, in a bid to consolidate themselves as a distinct collective group linked together by common bond of religion and

Urdu which they believe to be representing their Muslim cultural identity. Clearly these Muslims have moved away from regional towards the religious identity.

It is precisely for avoiding any such communal polarisation between Hindus and Muslims on the issue of Hindi and Urdu languages, that the J&K State Census authorities decided in 1941 to club Hindi and Urdu together and use Hindustani. This, however, resulted in inflating the number of persons claiming Hindi and Urdu speakers to 1,78,528 (mostly in Jammu province). R.G. Wreford, the then Census Commissioner admits it in his report, saying that "The figures for Hindustani are inflated as the result of the Urdu-Hindi controversy. Propapanda was carried on during the Census by the adherents of both parties to the dispute with the result that many Hindus gave Hindi as their mother tongue and many Muslims gave Urdu quite contrary to the facts in the great majority of cases. The dispute is largely political and so to keep politics out of the Census, it was decided to lump Hindi and Urdu together as Hindustani".

In the 1961, 1971 and 1981 censuses, usage of the term 'Hindustani' has been discarded in favour of separate enumeration for Hindi and Urdu speaking persons. The 1961 Census, which has treated Hindi and Gujari language separately, (unlike the 1971 and 1981 censuses, where Gujari in included into Hindi), should be taken as authentic base for calculating the number of persons claiming Hindi as their mother tongue. Yet there is no denying the fact that though respective mother tongues are spoken universally by various ethnic groups in their households or among themselves, the people of the State are generally bilingual or even trilingual in some cases. Thus if a Kashmiri uses his mother tongue within his group, he uses Urdu, Hindi or Hindustani in his conversation with the people from Jammu Province, Ladakh division and from the rest of India. Similarly, a Dogra would use Dogri within his group, Punjabi with his counterparts from Punjab and Delhi and Hindi or Hindustani with others. Ladakhis would use Ladakhi among themselves and Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani with others. English has also become popular, due to its common usage in administrative offices, trade, industry, and educational institutions.

The prevalence of Urdu as a link language is not only due to its being the official language, but also due to its popularisation through the publication of books, newspapers and periodicals in large numbers. Besides, the close socio- economic contacts between the people of the State and rest of India, plus the impact of tourism, modernisation and educational development have contributed to the use of Urdu and Hindi in the State, in addition to the mother- tongues.

The Census Report of 1941 for Jammu and Kashmir, provides an insight into the language situation in the State before independence, i.e. before a large chunk of the State in Mirpur, Muzaffarabad and Frontier Districts (Baltistan, Astore, Gilgit etc.) was occupied by Pakistan in 1947-48. This area is not known as Pak-occupied Kashmir/Northern Areas. The 1941 Census has listed Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Western Pahari, Balti, Ladakhi, Shina/Dardi and Burushaski as the main languages, spoken in the State. The 1941 census has followed the general scheme of classification, whereby Dogri and Gujari have been included as dialects under Punjabi and Rajasthani respectively, which is likely to create confusion to the non-discerning reader. However, the Census has provided a solution by indicating the actual number of Dogri and Punjabi speakers as 6,59,945 and 4,13,754 respectively. Whereas the Dogri speakers were concentrated in Jammu, Udhampur, Kathua and Chenani Jagir districts, most of the Punjabi speakers were settled mainly in Mirpur and also in Muzaffarabad (48,163 persons). Similarly out of 82,993 Lahnda speakers (including those speaking Pothawri dialect), 82,887 persons were concentrated in Mirpur district.

Gujari, the language of Gujars and Bakerwals (now declared as Scheduled Tribes), was included as a dialect under Rajasthani due to its close affinities with that language. But Pahari which is closely connected with Gujari and continues to be spoken in much the same areas, was enumerated separately. Thus we have 2,83,741 Gujari speakers and 5,31,319 Western Pahari speakers (including those speaking Bhadrawahi, Gaddi, Padari, Sarori dialects). Reasi, Jammu, Poonch, Kaveli, Mandhar, Baramulla, Anantnag and Muzaffarabad districts were shown as the main concentration points of Gujari and W. Pahari speakers, thereby testifying to their widespread distribution throughout the State. The subsequent Census Reports of 1961, 1971 and 1981 have removed this anomaly of enumerating Gujari and Pahari

separately. However, the Census reports of 1971 and 1981 have followed a new anomalous practice of including Gujari (Rajasthani), Bhadrawahi, Padri with Hindi. This has not only inflated the numbers of those claiming Hindi as their mother tongue but also camouflaged the actual strength of Gujari speakers, thereby causing disenchantment among this tribal community.

As most of these Hindi albeit Gujari speakers have been shown as concentrated in Baramulla, Kupwara, Punch, Rajouri and Doda districts, their Gujar identity becomes obvious. The 1961 census, which does not mix up Hindi with Gujari, puts the number of Gujari speakers at 2,09,327 and that of Hindi speakers at 22,323. Urdu is placed next with only 12,445 persons claiming it their mother tongue.

Tables 1 to 4 make it amply clear that Kashmiri commands the largest number of speakers, with Dogri at second and Gujari at third positions respectively. The number of Punjabi speakers in 1961, 1971 and 1981 Census Reports, actually reflects the number of Sikhs who have maintained their language and culture, and who are concentrated mainly in Srinagar, Budgam, Tral, Baramulla (all in Kashmir Province), Udhampur and Jammu. In case of Ladakh, several ethno-linguistic identities emerge on the basis of mother tongue and area of settlement. Ladakhis (people of Buddhist dominated ladakh district and Zangskar) have claimed Ladakhi, popularly known as Bodhi as their mother tongue. Interestingly Tibetan language has been consistently identified as distinct language/mother tongue in all the Census Reports under review, and it is spoken by the small group of Tibetan refugees settled in Srinagar and Leh. As against this, the Shia Muslims of Kargil have claimed Balti, another dialect of Tibetan language. The Baltis of Kargil are separated by the Line of Actual Control from their ethno-linguistic brothers in Baltistan area of 'Northern Areas' in Pak-occupied Kashmir who also speak the sam. Balti dialect. There are some Dardic speaking pockets in Gurez area of Baramulla in Kashmir, Dras and Da Hanu in Ladakh. The people of Hurza, Nagar and Yasin in the 'Northern Areas' of Pak-occupied Kashmir, speak the Burushaski language. The State of Jammu and Kashmir thus presents a classic case of linguistic and ethno-religious diversity.

14.2 Neglect of Mother Tongues

It is established that Kashmiri ranks first among the mother tongues of the State commanding the largest number of speakers, with Dogri in second and Gujari in third position, followed by Punjabi, Bodhi, Balti, Shina/Dardi in succession. Whereas Kashmiri has been included in the VIII schedule of the Constitution of India, the demands of similar treatment for Dogri and Bodhi are yet to be conceded. Conscious of the ethno-linguistic heterogeneity of the State, the 'New Kashmir' Programme adopted by the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference under the stewardship of Sheikh Abdulla as early as 1944, had envisaged the declaration of Kashmiri, Dogri, Balti, Dardi, Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu as the national languages of the State Urdu was to be the 'lingua franca' of the State. It was also laid down that:

"The state shall foster and encourage the growth and development of these languages, by every possible means, including the following:

> (1) The establishment of State Language Academy, where scholars and grammarians shall work to develop the languages,
>
> (a) by perfecting and providing scripts,
> (b) by enriching them through foreign translations,
> (c) by studying their history,
> (d) by producing dictionaries and text books.
>
> (2) The founding of State scholarships for these languages.
> (3) The fostering of local press and publications in local languages."

The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir has recognised Urdu as the offficial language of the State, treating Kashmiri, Dogri, Balti, Dardi, Punjabi Pahari and Ladakhi as regional languages. But the State Constitution has not taken congnizance of the need "to protect the right of minorities to conserve their distinctive language, script or culture; to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue,

to the children of lmguistic minorities", as has been explicitly provided in the Constitution of India in Articles 29, 30 and 350.

What was laid down in the original manifesto of the National Conference, has been fulfilled only to the extent of setting up of the J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages. Circumstantial evidence indicates that there has been an organised effort by the State political-bureaucratic elite to stifle the growth of Kashmiri language and other local mother tongues. It becomes obvious from the following facts:

(i) Teaching of Kashmiri has not been introduced at the primary or secondary school levels in the State. Not only that, no textbooks in Kashmiri are available even though a set of such books was prepared by experts. The Post Graduate Department of Kashmiri has been created as a super structure without any ground support at the primary and secondary levels. This is despite the general desire among Kashmiri masses to have Kashmiri as a medium of instruction particularly at the primary and middle levels of education. This gets amply reflected in a survey, in which 83 per cent of the respondents showed their preference for use of Kashmiri as a medium of instruction at primary levels and 48 per cent preferred the same at middle level of education, whereas 49 per cent wanted to have English at high or higher secondary levels.

(ii) Notwithstanding the publication of hundreds of newspapers and periodicals mostly in Urdu and some in English, hardly any newspaper or periodical is published in any local language in the State. The journal Sheeraza, which is brought out by the J&K Cultural Academy in Kashmiri, Dogri, Gujari and Bodhi languages, has a limited circulation among the literary circles. Local masses have to rely exclusively on Urdu and English newspapers/periodicals published locally or coming from Punjab or Delhi, though the people of the Valley would like to have Kashmiri newspapers. A socio-linguistic survey in Kashmir revealed that 47 per cent of the respondents reported their preference for local newspapers in Kashmiri language. J&K State is perhaps the only Indian state where local language press and publications are virtually absent.

(iii) Usage of Urdu has received official patronage, it being the medium of instruction in primary and secondary levels. Persi-Arabic script has been adopted for Kashmiri language. The functional role of Kashmiri in the domain of written communication has been reduced to minimum, as all personal letters, official correspondence etc. are written in Urdu, English or Hindi languages. The Sharda script, though indigerous to Kashmir, has been totally ignored. Not only that, the treasure of ancient MSS in the Sharda script is decaying in various libraries/archives in J&K State and needs immediate retrieval. Sharda script was used for preparing horoscopes, though its usage is now restricted to a few practicing Brahmins. With the result, this ancient tradition has gone into oblivion. Similarly, the demands of ethno-religious minority of Kashmiri Hindus, presently living in forced exile, for adopting Devnagri as an alternate script for Kashmiri language have been ignored. With the result this sizeable minority of Kashmir, has not only been deprived of access to the rich fund of Kashmiri language and literature, but their right to preserve and promote their ancient cultural heritage has also been denied. This is in clear contravention of the Article 29, 30 and 350 of Indian Constitution. On the other hand, the State government has adopted Persi-Arabic script as an alternate script for Dogri and Punjabi in addition to thereby displaying their motivated double standards. That Devngari script has been in prevalence for Kashmiri is obvious from the publication of several Kashmiri books/journals in this script. Not only that, Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir while conceding the demands of both the Hindu and Muslim Communities, issued orders in late 1940 allowing the usage of both Persian and Davnagri scripts in schools, even while the common medium of instruction would be simple Urdu. Students were given the option of choosing either of the two scripts for reading and writing.

(iv) During the past two decades or so, there have been organised efforts by the Islamic fundamentalist sccial, cultural and political organisations, often receiving assistance from foreign Muslim countries, to saturate the Kashmiri language and culture with aggressive revivalistic overtones. It is not a mere coincidence that all the names of various militant organisations in Kashmir, titles of office-bearers, their slogans and literature are in the highly Persianised-Arabicised form. Similarly, names of hundreds of

villages and towns in Kashmir were changed from ancient indigenous Sanskritic form to Persian/Islamic names, by the State government. To quote a Kashmiri writer, "Language was subverted through substitution of Pan-Islamic morphology and taxonomy for the Kashmiri one. Perfectly Islamic person names like Ghulam Mohammed, Ghulam Hassan, Abdul Aziz, Ghulam Rasool which were abundantly common in Kashmir were substituted by double decker names which were indistinguishable from Pakistani and Afghan names". In this manner linguistic and cultural subversion was carried out to "subsume the Kashmiri identity of Kashmir by a Pan-Islamic identity" after "tampering with the racial and historical memory of an ethnic sub-nationality through a Pan-Islamic ideal". Kashmir was thus projected as "an un-annexed Islamic enclave" which should secede from the secular and democratic India.

(v) Films Division of the Government of India, which used to dub films in 13 Indian languages including Kashmiri for exhibition among the local masses, stopped doing so at the instance of the State administration. They were instead asked to do it in simple Urdu.

(vi) That the State bureaucracy even foiled the attempts by Progress Publishers, Moscow, to start translation and publication of Russian classics in Kashmir, is established by the following information provided to this author by Raisa Tugasheva who was actively associated with this programme.

"It was in 1972 that the Progress Publishers, Moscow (successor to Foreign Language Publishing House which published in 13 languages) decided to start publication of Kashmiri translations of Russian literature. Some Urdu knowing scholars were recruited for the task. Ms. Raisa rugasheva (who had worked as Urdu announcer at Tashkent Radio for twenty years) was made Head and Editor-in-Chief of the Kashmiri Section of Progress Publishers. Besides two Assistant editors and one Kashmiri Muslim student at Moscow were associated with the Project. At the first instance, a few books of Russian literature were taken up and later translated into Kashmiri. One assistant editor Lena was sent to Kashmir for further study. When a delegation of Progress Publishers visited Kashmir to survey the potential and prospects of circulation of these books, their proposal met with a hostile State government response. It was found that the State administrative machinery was against publication and circulation of Kashmiri translations of Russian books. With the result the whole project was quietly wound up".

(vii) Central government grants provided to the State Education Department from time to time for development of Kashmiri language and literature have either been spent on other heads or allowed to lapse. Similarly the 100 per cent financial assistance provided by the centre for translation of Constitution of India into Kashmiri was not availed of. Instead these funds were diverted to promotion of Urdu which was misleadingly projected as the regional language of the State.

(viii) Dogri which is spoken in Jammu region and the adjoining areas of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab, has been recognised as one of the regional languages in the VI Schedule of the State's Constitution. Though the Sahitya Academy started giving its awards for Dogri in 1970, the people of Jammu have been demanding inclusion of Dogri in the VIII Schedule of Constitution of India. When in mid-1992 the Central government was taking steps to include Nepali, Konkani and Manipuri in the VIII Schedule, the Dogri Sangharsh Morcha started a movement in Jammu pressing for acceptance of their demand. Though the matter was raised in Parliament, nothing happened. The Jammu people point to the rich literary heritage of Dogri, its wide prevalence in J&K, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab and also the usage of easy Devnagri script for this language, and their contribution to maintain national integrity, as sufficient grounds for inclusion of Dogri in the VIII Schedule. They are peeved at the discriminatory attitude of the Central government in not accepting their demand which they allege to be under the political interference of the Kashmiri politicians.

(ix) In Ladakh too Urdu was imposed as a medium of instruction, though the majority of people there speak and write Ladakhi (Bodhi), a dialect of Tibetan and which has a script of its own. It was during the latter years of Dogra rule that Urdu was introduced as the official language throughout the State including Ladakh. Even at that time the Ladakhi Buddhists had resented the 'infliction of Urdu' as a medium of instruction in primary schools. The report of the Kashmir-Raj Bodhi Maha Sabha, Srinagar (1935) provides an insight into the sharp reaction evoked by this practice among the local people. It states:

"The infliction of Urdu-to them a completely foreign tongue-on the Ladakh Buddhists as a medium of instruction in the primary stage is a pedagogical atrocity which accounts, in large measure for their aversion to going to school. Nowhere in the world are boys in the primary stage taught through the medium of a foreign tongue. And so, the Buddhist boy whose mother tongue is Tibetan must struggle with the complicacies of the Urdu script and acquire a knowledge of this alien tongue in order to learn the rudiments of Arithmetic, Geography, and what not.... This deplorable and irrational practice is being upheld in face of the fact that printed text books for all Primary school subjects do exist in Tibetan and have been utilized with good results by the Moravian Mission at Leh". Ironically even after the end of Dogra Raj, Urdu continues to be the medium of instruction. Though Ladakhi and Arabic have also been introduced in government schools alongwith English, private Islamic schools teach Urdu and Arabic only. This educational policy has led to building up of segmented religious identities as against a secular one, thereby polarising the traditional and tolerant Ladakhi society on communal lines.

(x) Instead of recognising Gujari, the mother tongue of more than six lakh Gujars, the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir has included Pahari, as one of the regional languages in its VI schedule. This anomalous situation is a result of the impression that Gujari is part of Pahari, though it is actually more akin to Rajasthani. And the Census or 1941 has included Gujari under Rajasthani. Whereas the subsequent Censuses of 1961, 1971 and 1981 have not mentioned Pahari at all. This is one of the contributory factors that have led to the Gujari-Pahari controversy, which has been explained in the following pages. Gujars of Jammu and Kashmir have been demanding their identification and enumeration by the Census authorities on the basis of their tribal rather than linguistic identity, so as to avoid overlapping with the Paharis and the consequent underestimation of their population.

(xi) Balti, a dialect of the Tibetan language, used to be written in the Tibetan script before the advent of Islam in Baltistan in the sixteenth century. Numerous rock inscriptions which still exist in Baltistan (in Pak- occupied Kashmir), are a living testimony to this fact. Following the conversion of Baltis to Islam, indigenous Tibetan script for Balti language was discarded "as profane". Instead, Persian script was introduced even though it did not "suit the language due to certain phonological differences". But after Baltistan was occupied by Pakistan in 1948, Urdu has prevailed in the area. With the result the indigenous Balti language has been further weakened due to heavy influence of Persian and Urdu. The same is true of Baltis living in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. Baltis in Pakistan are deeply disturbed over the loss of their inherited culture, particularly during the past two decades due to "onslaught of religious fanaticism". This change is ascribed to the Islamic Revolution in Iran, following which Maulvis flush with money entered the area and banned singing, dancing and all forms of traditional cultural activities. Interestingly, the Shia Muslims in the Kargil area of Ladakh, who too speak the Balti language and share same culture with Baltis of Baltistan, have been subjected to similar change. They have been allowed to be swayed under the pernicious influence of Mullahs and Mujtahids, most of whom receive theological training and support from Iran.

These mujtahids, have stripped the festivals and ceremonies in Kargil of their traditional music and fanfare. The traditional musicians-Doms, who used to play drums and wind pipe instruments on all festive occasions, have been rendered jobless. This situation has resulted in the destruction of rich folk, linguistic, literary and cultural heritage of Baltis. The only saving grace is that most of the Balti folk literature is still preserved in the oral unwritten tradition. Besides, there is an organised effort inside Pak-occupied Baltistan, by Balti intellectuals led by Syed Abbas Kazmi to revive the Balti heritage including its Tibetan script. The Baltistan Research Centre, Skardo is doing a commendable job on this subject. Similar efforts need to be initiated by J&K Cultural Academy inside Kargil area.

Foregoing discussion of the state of affairs of mother tongues in Jammu and Kashmir State throws up important political issues. It becomes clear that despite the local urge to preserve and promote their mother tongues, whether it is Kashmiri, Dogri, Gujari, Bodhi or Balti, the same have been denied their due place. This has been done as part of the calculated policy of the Muslim bureaucracy and political leadership to subvert the indigenous linguistic and ethno-cultural identities which inherit a composite cultural heritage. Thus a supra national Muslim identity has been sought to be imposed in different

regions of the State, which essentially are different language and culture areas. Simultaneously a whispering compaign was launched in Kashmir alleging the central government's apathy towards Kashmiri language, which is, however, belied by facts. Apart from inclusion of Kashmiri in the VIII Schedule, Sahitya Academy has been giving awards for Kashmiri right from 1956 though it started doing so for Dogri only in 1970. What is needed now is to remove the existing imbalances and introduce Sahitya Academy awards for Gujari, Ladakhi (Bodhi) and Balti, besides officially recognising Devnagari as alternate script for Kashmiri.

14.3 Conclusion

The language geography of the State has changed after 1947 when a large chunk of the State was occupied by Pakistan, what is now known as Pak-occupied Kashmir/ Northern Areas. The new ground situation is that all the Kashmiri, Dogri, Gujari and Ladakhi speaking areas falls within the Northern Areas. Yet some small pockets of Dardi speaking people-Buddhist Brukpas in Da Hanu area of Ladakh, people of Dras (Ladakh) and Gurez (Baramulla) lie within the Indian part of Jammu and Kashmir. Similarly, all the Pothawri (Lahanda) speaking areas in Poonch, Mirpur etc. remain within the Pak-occupied Kashmir. As regards the Baltis, they are divided between those living in Kargil in Indian Ladakh and across the Line of Actual Control in Baltistan (Northern Areas). From within the Kashmiri speaking community, the entire Kashmiri Hindu minority of more than three lakhs has been forced out of the valley in 1980-90 by the Islamist militants. Thus this significant and indigenous minority community has been deprived of its ancient habitat and language culture area in the Kashmir valley. Given the precarious condition of these displaced persons living in forced exile in various parts of India and struggling for survival, their language and culture are likely to be the worst casualty of their ethnic-religious cleansing. The question of resettlement of this displaced minority in their ancient birthland in a manner that ensures their ethnic- linguistic and territorial homogeneity and adequate constitutionaliadministrative safeguards for protection of their human rights, is directly linked to the permanent solution of the Kashmir imbroglio.

A study of the language demography of Jammu and Kashmir State establishes the fact that the Lahnda (Pothwari) speaking area falls almost entirely across the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in Pak-occupied Kashmir. That the LAC on the western side coincides with the specific language culture area, provides a natural permanence to the Line of Actual Control on ethno-linguistic lines in this sector. This should provide a key to finding lasting solution to vexed Kashmir problem between India and Pakistan. However, this is not true of Balti speaking area, which remains divided by the Line of Actual Control between Kargil area of Jammu and Kashmir in India and Baltistan region of Pak-occupied Kashmir. That there is a renewed urge among the Baltis in Pak-occupied Kashmir to revive their ancient Balti language and heritage only demonstrates their cultural roots in Ladakh.

Regarding the evolution and affinities of various mother tongues in Jammu and Kashmir, it is established that most of the languages are rooted in or have close affinities with the Indo-Aryan languages. Whereas Dogri is closely related to Punjabi, Gujari is akin to Rajasthani. Grierson's theory of Kashmiri belonging to the Dardic branch of languages has been disputed by the insider view emanating from Kashmir and e]sewhere. Most of the linguistic researches conducted in Kashmir during the past forty years, have established that Kashmiri bears close resemblance to Sanskritic languages, thereby testifying to the close civilisational contacts and ties between Kashmir and India since ancient times. Grierson who has misleadingly adopted the religious distinction between 'Hindu Kashmiri' and 'Muslim Kashmiri' has actually followed the colonial approach towards non-European sccieties. Ironically Grierson's theory has been used as premier by an American geographer, J.E. Schwartzberg has advocated the merger of Kashmir valley with the Dardic speaking areas of Pak- occupied Kashmir on the basis of lmguistic and cultural affinity. Grierson's theory has since been disputed. Besides, the fact remains that the people of Kashmir valley are not only linguistically different from those living across the Line of Control in Pak-occupied Kashmir, but also have different cultural moorings and social ethos. Though Ladakhi and Balti belong to the Tibeto-Burman group of languages, the presence of Sanskritic impact among the Garkuns of

Ladakh is a living example of the extent of Indian cultural presence in this remote area. Given the importance of the subject, it is incumbent upon the linguists and anthropologists in India to unravel the mysteries of evolution and affinities of various mother tongues of Jammu and Kashmir State, in the broader context of race movement and civilisational evolution in north and north western India.

Kashmiri is the main language spoken in the State, its spatial distribution being limited to the central valley of Kashmir and some parts of Doda. Though Kashmiri has no 'functional role as a written language' now, it is "overwhelmingly the language of personal and in-group communication. It is the medium of dreams, mental arithmetic and reflection, of communication within the family, with friends and in market places, in places of worship etc." According to a survey, the Kashmiris view their language as "an integral part of their identity" and want it to be accorded its due role in the fields of education, mass-media and administration. The neglect of mother tongues by the State is the most salient language issue in Jammu and Kashrnir, and the earlier it is remedied, the better. However, the only silver lining is ihat both Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims have identified Kashmiri as their mother tongue.

Though Pahari has not been enumerated as a separate language in the J&K State Census Reports of 1961, 1971 and 1981, of late there have been demands for grant of some concessions to 'Paharis' in the State. The Pahari versus Gujar issue is a potential source of ethnic conflict as both the Pahari and Gujar interests are in conflict with each other. Both the Pahari and Gujar identities overlap in certain aspects particularly their hill settlement pattern and some common language features. The grant of Scheduled Tribe status on 19th April 1991 by the central government, entitles the Gujars-the third largest community in the State, to preferential treatment in government services, educational, professional and technical education etc. Gujars also claim propotionate representation in the State Assembly. The non- Gujar Muslims of the State have been peeved at the conferment of Scheduled Tribe status and its benefits to the Gujars. They have now demanded similar concession and the privileges associated with it for the 'Paharis' of Rajouri, Poonch, Kupwara and Baramulla districts, i.e., where the Gujars are in sizeable numbers. The central government decision to meet the demand of Gujars has also evoked some reaction from the local press. The new 'Pahari' demand has been backed by the valley dominated political and bureaucratic Muslim elite, which has succeeded in persuading the State Governor to take a few steps in this direction. On 17 May 1992, the non-Gujar 'Pahari Board' was set up, with eight Kashmiri Muslims, eight Rajput Muslims, two Syeds and four non-Muslims as its members. On 18 December 1993, the State Governor, General K. V. Krishna Rao issued a statement urging the central government to declare the Paharis as Scheduled Tribes.

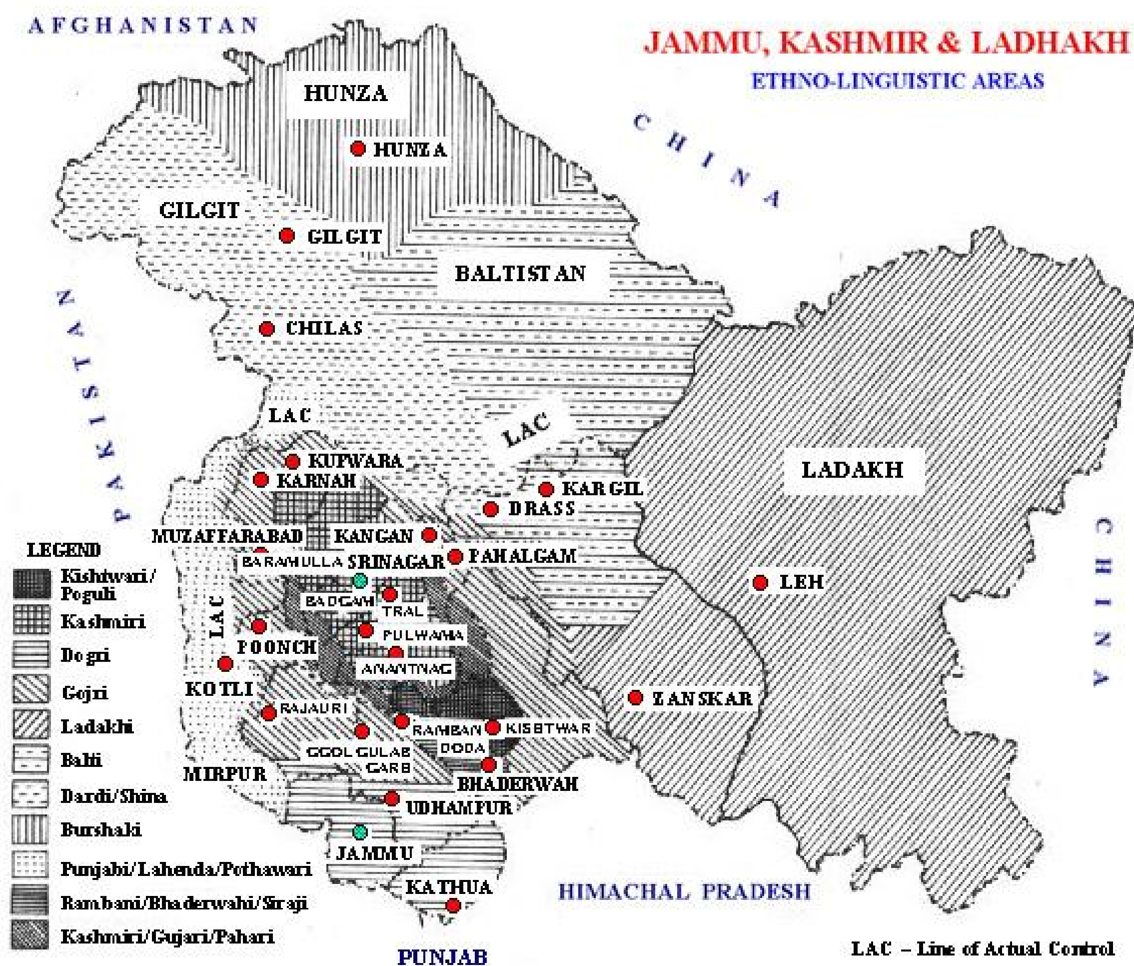
Obviously, the J&K State administration is trying to construct new identities such as 'Paharis', in a bid to undermine the Gujars and their ethno-linguistic identity in the areas where they are dominant. That is why the demands of 'Paharis' of Rajouri, Poonch, Kupwara and Baramulla, (where Gujars are concentrated) are raised, whereas the backward and neglected hill people of Ramban, Kishtwar, Padar and Bhadarwah, who speak distinct dialects of Rambani, Kishtwari, Padari and Bhadarwahi, have been excluded from the purview of the so called 'Pahari'. This is a subtle move to deprive the Gujars of their numerical advantage and fully marginalise them in the political, administrative and other institutional structures of the State.

The existing spatial distribution of Gujar speakers, does provide some sort of linguistic territorial homogeneity, which however, needs to be further consolidated to help in preservation and promotion of Gujari language and ethno- cultural heritage and fulfilling their socio-economic and political aspirations within the State. Inclusion of Gujari as one of the regional languages in the VI schedule of state's Constitution and the Sahitya Academy awards for Gujari writers, are basic steps that need to be taken urgently.

That the Gujars are concentrated in specific border belts surrounding the main Kashmiri speaking area, which mostly fali within the Indian side of Line of Actual Control, is yet another aspect of political importance. It is not only a physical obstacle in the way of attaining the goals of the ongoing secessionist movement based on Pan-Islamic- Kashmiri identities, it also demonstrates that barring some possible minor adjustments here and there, the present LAC provides the best possible solution to the Kashmir problem.

As already stated, all the Census reports have made a clear distinction between the Ladakhi (Bhotia) and Tibetan speaking persons in Ladakh, former being indigenous Ladakhis and the latter being Tibetan refugee settlers. Interestingly, various political activist groups such as "Himalayan Committee for Action on Tibet", "Himalayan Buddhist Cultural Association", "Tibet Sangharsh Samiti" etc. which have been spreaheading in India the campaign for Tibet's independence, and have opened their branches in various Himalayan States of India, have been demanding the inclusion of Bhotia language in the VIII Schedule of the Indian Constitution. At the same time, there have been sustained efforts by the Tibetan scholars at Dharamshala or abroad, towards preparing a unified system of Tibetan language so that the same script, dialect etc. is applied to all the Bhotia/Tibetan speaking peoples whether in Indian Himalayas or elsewhere. This raises the question of Tibetanisation of society, culture and politics of the Indian Himalayas partieularly in Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Kalimpong, Darjeeling etc. It has been noticed that Tibetan refugees living in these areas never use local dialect and seek to exercise their cultural hegemony over the local Buddhist inhabitants. Due to divergent modes of economic activity being followed by the Tibetan refugees and the indigenous Buddhists in this Himalayan region, the former being engaged in marketing and industrial activities and the latter being involved in primary agrarian economy, there have been social conflicts between these two culturally similar groups with the locals viewing the Tibetan refugees as exploiters. Such a conflict has been experienced in Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh etc. It becomes imperative for the concerned government and non-government agencies to ensure that the indigenous Bhotia/Ladakhi and even Balti ethno-linguistic heritage is preserved and promoted.

State government's policy towards local mother tongues including Kashmiri, reflects the political dynamics of Muslim majoritarianism, in which supra-national religious ethnicity has been artifically superimposed over the linguistic ethnicity. This has been done with the object of bringing Kashmiri Muslims closer to the Muslim Ummah in the subcontinent, and particularly with the adjoining Islamic State of Pakistan. This task has been carried forward by numerous Islamic political, social and cultural institutions particularly the Jamat-i-Islami, Ahl-e-Hadis, Anjuman Tableegh-i-Islam etc. and the madrassahs or even public schools run by these organistions, all of which have been preaching and promoting Islamic world view both in political, social and cultural affairs. With the result a firm ideological base has been prepared to mould the political and cultural views of Kashmiri Muslims on religious lines rather than ethno- linguistic/cultural basis, thereby negating the idnigenous secular and composite cultural heritage. The same thing has happened in Pak-occupied Kashmir (including Northern Areas), where Urdu-the national language of Pakistan, has been imposed and popularised, and local mother tongues- Pothwari, Khowar, Burushaski, Dardi/Shina and Balti remain neglected. Whereas adoption of such a policy by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is understandable, it is quite ironical and unthinkable as to how such a state of affairs has been al]owed in Jammu and Kashmir State, part of the secular and democratic Republic of India which has otherwise provided specific constitutional safeguards for promotion of mother-tongues and protection of rights of linguistic and cultural minorities.



Ja

mmu, Kashmir & Ladakh
Ethno-Linguistic Areas
Legend (Top to bottom as it is not readable from the map):
Kishtwari/Poguli, Kashmiri, Dogri, Gojri, Ladakhi, Balti, Dardi/Shina,
Burshaski, Punjabi/Lahenda/Pothawari, Rambani/Bhaderwahi/Siraji,
Kashmiri/Gujari/Pahari

It is surprising that the neglect of Kashmiri has never been a theme of unrest and anti-Indian movement in Kashmir. It is mainly because the Kashmiri Muslims have been swayed by their intellectual elite and political leaders of all hues (whether in power or out of it), most of whom have been educated at the Aligarh Muslim University, thereby imbibing the spirit of Aligarh movement which regards Urdu as the symbol of Muslim cultural identity. This policy is derived from the Muslim League strategy adopted so successfully by M.A. Jinnah, "for political mobilization of the Muslim Community around the symbols of Muslim identification-Islam, Urdu and the new slogan of Pakistan". that explains why primacy has been given to Islam instead of language, thereby consolidating the religious divide between Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus who otherwise inherit same language, habitat and way of life. True spirit of Kashmiriat can be restored only after giving rightful place to the indigenous Kashmiri language and culture. Besides steps need to be taken to promote other mother tongues of the state-Dogri, Gujari, Bodhi (Ladakhi) and Balti. Whereas the case of Dogri for inclusion in VIII Schedule of Constitution of India needs to be considered favourably, Sahitya Academy should give awards for literary works in Gujari and Bodhi as is done by it for Maithili and Rajasthani which are not listed in the VIII Schedule. Devnagri should be recognised as

alternate script for Kashmiri language which will meet the long standing demand of the sizeable ethno-religious minority of Kashmiri Hindus. The Linguistic Survey of India and the Census Commissioner of India need to review Grierson's classification and evolve a suitable enumeration code and proper classification marks for various languages and mother tongues prevalent in Jammu and Kashmir, so that the linguistic and cultural aspirations of numerous ethnic- linguistic groups in the State are duly reflected and protected.

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2. Ethnicity and Politics in Central Asia;
3. Afghanistan Factor in Central and South Asian Politics;
4. Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh: A Comprehensive Bibliography;
5. Central Asia: Emerging New Order, and
6. Society and Culture in the Himalayas.

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Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation
Har-Anand Publications

15 Some Important Aspects of Kashmiri as a Language

Prof. S. K. Toshakhani*

Unique, in some respects, is the place that Kashmiri can claim among the modern Indo-Aryan languages. To a linguist, its importance can hardly be exaggerated. It lies in the first instance, in its antiquity which may well go back to the Vedic times if not to some period earlier still and as such it bids fair to provide the key to many a problem that at present battles the linguist and the indologist. This may sound a tall claim but a little reflexion will show that it is not altogether ill-founded. Let us, for instance take the statement *Yodvai*, meaning 'if', 'although'. The corresponding word current in most modern Indian languages of Aryan origin is *Yadi* but not *Yodvai*. Though both these are Sanskrit words the latter (*Yodvai*) is archaic and is to be come across mainly in the language. The statement as it occurs in the Vedas is *Yad-u-vai* which due to retroactive effect of *u* on *a* naturally changes to *Yodvai*, the form in which it is current in Kashmiri even today. Again, the Kashmir *Van* (un) 'to speak' is as old as the Vedas but as such is not to be found in any modern Indian, or for the matter of that, Indo-Iranian language. Nor are these stray cases. When we come to minerals we find that Kashmiri alone of all the modern Indian languages preserves the *dvi* (Kashmiri *du*) of Sanskrit in such numbers as *dusatath* (Sanskrit *dvisaptati*), *dunamat* (Sanskrit *dvanavatih*) and so on. In all other Indian languages that are Aryan in origin '*dvi*' has been replaced by '*b*' or '*bi*' as in 'bahattar' (seventy-two) 'biyasi' (eighty-two) and so on. Yet the '*b*' form too survives in the Kashmiri words, '*beyi*' (secondly or again) and *'ba'h*' (twelve).

I have referred above to the possibility of Kashmiri dating back to a period remoter than the Vedic. The two Kashmiri words '*rost*' (excluding) and '*sost*' (including) correspond to Sanskrit '*rahit*' and '*salit*' expressions that we come across in the same form even in the Vedas. Obviously '*rost*' and '*sost*' are pre Vedic as the transition from 's' and '*s*' to '*h*' is admittedly a later incident. Now let us take the Kashmiri word '*pheran*' meaning a 'cloak', the kind of tunic worn by Kashmiris now or its predecessor. This word is not to be found in just this form in any of the Indo-Iranian languages. Yet strongly enough but for the elision of the initial vowel it closely resembles the Greek word '*pheron*' from which the English word 'apron' derives. It is argued by some well meaning people that the word '*pheron*' comes from the Sanskrit word '*paridhan*', to which is also related the Iranian or Persian word '*pairahan*' (dress). One can further say in favour of this view that a soft aspirated consonant changes often to '*h*' in most Indian languages. But that is exactly not the case with Kashmiri. In the latter case the soft aspirated consonants change to corresponding unaspirated ones of the same group. For example Sanskrit '*bhu bhav*' to 'be, become' change to '*ho*' 'have' in Hindi but in Kashmiri the word changes to '*bav*' of '*yi bavi na*' in Kashmiri to '*ya nahin ho ga*' in Hindi. In the course of ages a word must undergo phonetic changes but the Kashmiri '*pheran*' and the Greek '*epheron*' resemble each other without any significant change having taken place to show that either of them are direct descendants of either Avestan or Vedic. Does it not stand to reason, therefore, that both the Greeks and Kashmiris got the word direct from '*viros*' the parent of all Indo-European languages? In this connection it may not be out of plce to point out that in some parts of Kashmir we have the word '*luna*' corresponding to the Latin word 'Luni' meaning 'moon' and occurring even in such English words as 'lunar', 'lunatic' and so on. The few words that have been pointed out above to show as having a bearing on the antiquity of Kashmir dating to a time remoter than the 'Vedas' are only illustrative but by no means do these exhaust the list.

It is said on high authority that Kashmiri is of Dardic or Shina source. Dardic or Shina are Aryan languages but the vocabulary of either while closely related to Sanskrit is associated with that part of the latter on which the modern Indo-Aryan languages do not draw to whereas on which Kashmiri in common with other Indo-Aryan languages does depend. Let us, for example, take the Kashmiri words '*poni*' (base pani) and '*zal*' both meaning water, '*danya*' (paddy) and '*gur*' (horse). These correspond to the cognate words found in other Indian languages as are derived from the Sanskrit words '*paniya*', *'jala'*, '*dhanya*' and '*ghotaka*' having the same meanings respectively whereas the *Shina* words for the same are related to the Sanskrit '*vari*', '*bribi*' and '*ashva*' respectively. Nor does Shina share with Kashmiri its umlaut or the matra-system. This is not the place to go in detail into the question of the origin of Kashmiri. Suffice it to

say that in 1940 the present writer went all the way from Srinagar to Gilgit on his own to investigate the problem and was convinced that Sir George Grierson's conclusion about the relationship of Kashmiri to Shina or Dardic are not warranted, though the geographical proximity of Dardic to Kashmiri speaking part of the Indian sub-continent must have resulted in some exchange of words between the two.

Coming now to intonation and other factors of melody we find that the '*udatta*', '*anudatta*' and '*svarita*', that is, the '*high*', '*low*' and circumflex tones of the Vedic Hymns have their echo in the Kashmiri hymns as chanted by women on the occasion of the *Yagneopavit* (sacred thread) ceremony of Kashmiri Brahmans. No other modern Indo-Aryan language has preserved these Vedic forms of intonation. The others have their classical and lighter music. Nor is Kashmiri a stranger to such melodies either as is evident from the classical setting of the metrical sayings of Lal Ded, the lilt of the lyrics in Banasura Vadh by Avatar Bhatta of the 15th century and from the popular songs sung in the '*rohv*' (rof) and *chakkar* styles. Over and above such melodies we have the Sufiana music borrowed and adopted from the neighbouring countries. The phonology of Kashmiri is very interesting indeed. The laws that govern the phenomenon of change of sounds in Kashmiri, as words are adopted from other languages or as the inherited stock of them undergo transformation through the ages, are very regular on the whole. The *umlaut* is more fully developed than in the Indo-German languages of Europe of which it is said to be a special feature. Not only do the vowels change but the consonants also conform to bring about an assonance that is not only pleasant to the ear but also irresistably regular so as to facilitate articulation. Such a phenomenon is not something haphazard but depends on the demands of the organs of speech and hearing due to the final matra-vowel in which all the components of a word terminate. The vowels change from the upper to the lower set, the guttarals to palatals and the dentals to dental fricatives depending on the terminal *matra-vowel* or roughly on gender with a regularity and precision in correspondance that is astounding. The hard unasperated and asperated consonants of the guttaral or dental group change respectively to hard unasperated and asperated palatals or dental fricatives as the case may be; similarly, the soft consonants. Thus k,kh, g change to ch, chh, j and dental t, th, d, n to dental fricatives ts, tsh, z, n.

Examples, *pok* (ripe) gives way to *pach, dokh* (support) to *dachh* and *log* (came into contact) to *laj*. Similarly *tot* (hot) changes to *tats, voth* (he got up) to *vatsh* (she got up), *dod* (he got burnt) to *daz* (she got burnt) and *ton* (thin) to *tan* corresponding roughly to change of gender.

The inherited words from Sanskrit change their asperated sibilants to 'h' for example *sat* (hundred) changes to *hat, sak* to *hak* (a pot herb), the palatals d & t change to 'r', for example *nad* to *nar* (ravine) and Bhattaraka to Bror (base, brar). The soft aspirated consonants change to corresponding unaspirated ones e.g. 'gh' to 'g', 'jh' to 'j' 'b' to 'bh' and 'dh' to 'd' as in the case of a change from *ghonas* (viper) to *gunas, jharjharita* (worn out) to *zazarit* and '*dhana*' (wealth) to '*dana*' and so on.

The short vowel 'u' changes to 'o' e.g. *putra* to *potra* or *pothar* (a son), e to long 'i' as in the case of *deva* to *div* and so on. The semi-vowels v and y are introduced to assist the articulation of 'u' and 'i' short and long cf, *insan* (man) *Isvara* (God) being pronounced as *yinsan* and *yisvara* and *umed* (hope) and *uttam* (highest) as *vomed* and *votam*.

Even when pronouncing Sanskrit or Persian, this tendency seems to prevail, '*vapo putro mitro*' is read '*vopo potro metro*' and '*ta*' *al ullah chi davlat daram imshab*' is read as '*tal ollah chi dolath daram yimshab*' and so on.

The syntax of Kashmiri also is not without its special significance. The sequence of words in a Kashmiri sentence is very much the same as in English. For example, 'I went there' may be translated '*bo* (I) *gos* (went) *tot* (there) in Kashmiri.

The syntax of Persian agrees with that of Hindustani but differs from English and Kashmiri. The above English sentence done into Persian and Hindustani will run thus : Hindustani, '*main* (I) *vahan* (there) *gaya* (went)', Persian, '*man*' (I) *unja* (there) *raftam* (went). In another respect the formation of agglutinative verbs combining pronominal subject and in themselves is very common. In fact such verbs are sentences rather than words. For example '*dyut may*' in Kashmiri '*dudamat*' in Persian both mean 'I gave it thee'. But the analytical forms are also there. The vocables '*dyutmai*' and '*dadamat*' have their analytical substitutes

in the sentences '*mye dyut yi tse*' (Kashmiri) and '*man in tura dadam*' (Persian) meaning 'I gave it thee' so that we can almost catch the two languages developing from agglutinative to analytical forms.

Kashmir has been rightly called the first home of Sanskrit and the second home of Persian. Both these languages have influenced Kashmiri very much. The trend has sometimes been to over sanskritise it and at others to over persianise it depending upon the religion, the times, the political atmosphere and such other factors that might have contributed to condition different writers. Fortunately some of the best writers of the present age are alive to the danger that such tendencies pose to the extent of obliterating the very identity of Kashmiri and may, therefore, be trusted to maintain some sort of a balance in this respect.

We have seen how there is reason to believe in the great antiquity of Kashmiri, in its resemblance to Indian, Iranian and European languages in point of characteristics peculiar to them. What does all this indicate? May it not be that further research into the morphology, phonology and semantics of Kashmiri will give one peep into much that is hidden to the view of the past of all languages that are Aryan in origin ?

Note on transliteration of oriental words

[Only an accent mark has been introduced here and there to distinguish short and long vowels. Nor have cerebrals been shown as distinct from dentals. The exigencies of the printing press could not have been met otherwise.]

The author (late) Prof S. K. Toslikhani, has been one of the great academicians Kashmir has produced. Besides being a renowned professor he was an outstanding researcher and expert in linguistics.

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16 Linguistic Sociology of Ancient Kashmir

Prof. T. N. Ganjoo

It is an undeniable fact that in the evolution of language, the kin names, and terms of statement for very common and regularly surrounding objects and processes, have a primary and preeminent placement. The sociolinguistics and other sociologists contribute to the views that the earliest form of articulation must have grown round the kin relational primaries in the family, to artifacts and implements of daily need and the primitive psychological and sociological stresses experienced in every day life. The dynamics of the primitive culture must have, therefore, been the major source of articulation and language.[2]

Apart from the theoritical assumption underlined above, the kin names with which this study is particularly connected has an other and a more vital aspect, and that aspect has a direct and very deep bearing on the linguistic sociology and the general investigation of the root and source of a linguistic structure. Linguistics psychology confirms the fact that the kin-names constitute a sub-stratum which through ages modifies its extension, yet remains substantially unchanged in its vital substance and basis. This sub-stratum descends down through the generations and is inherited by us and still forms an important part of the linguistic pattern of our age. The relevance of the kin-sociology[3] is formulated clearly on the ground that kin-names throw considerable light on the early language forms and their development through time which cannot be measured and approached easily. In the 18th century Sir John, a leading Indologist collected a long list of kin-names which were morphologically, phonetically and semantically of the same root and later conducted an exhaustive linguistic investigations which revolutionised the accepted notions of language and linguistics and exploded the myth that the European languages were connected with the Semitic-Hebrew group. Sir John classified Indo-European[4] languages in a common linguistic family and opened a new perspective, not only in the linguistic movements of the Aryan stock, but also in the aryan race movements in general, which must have occured along-with.

It is in the light of these formulations that an attempt has been made to present a survey study of the kin-names in the Kashmiri language, which is possibly the oldest derivative of the spoken Aryan language of the Rig-vedic[5] era. Kashmiri, though modified phonetically still retains the basis and root of its source. It has definitely certain special features which differentiate it from the Indo-Aryan languages of India, mainly because it is a direct descendent of the vedic. The Indo-Aryan languages have passed through many linguistic stages changing and modifying in the course of evolution and have also run into contact with languages spoken by the proto-Australoid and later mediterranean stocks, which were hurtled down to the South to settle in to Dravidian communities there. The kin-names offer the explanation for these dissimlarities and also enable us to locate the basic identity between the Vedic and the Kashmiri.

A significant aspect of the kin-names and their appreciation is their relevance to the periodisation of the evolution of economic and social frames, a fact which is of paramount importance not only to the history of Kashmir but to the entire history of India. Placed alongside the agro-linguistic studies, the kin-names provide sources for the location of social strata as they got piled up, one upon the other. The corroboration of the Kashmiri, Kin-names with the Rig Vedic nomenclatures therefore, open a break-through for the constructions of the Kashmir's historical past, which otherwise is absolutely shrouded in mystery. The attempt made here is therefore, to provide a clue to the origin of linguistic development in Kashmir, and also periodisation of the proto-history of this ancient land.

Kin-names

K : 1 Vedic = /Matri/ (Rigveda 1.24-1, 7.10130) mother (In Kashmiri Prakrat/T/and/Y/ changes into J/. In present Kashmiri/Maja/Dr. S.K. Chatterji is of this opinion that /Matra + Arya/has formed present form of Punjabi/Maji/.

In Kashmiri language, there is evidence of this fact that the ancient Kashmiri Society was Matriarchal rather than Patriarchal. It is because of this fact that married daughter calls her parental home/Malyun/(Parental home) which is broken form of /Matra + Mouli + ayanana/. In Rigveda/ayanan:is used for Home.

Vedic : /Mola/ (Pancavimsha-Bhasmana. 13.4.11)

(father) the stem of this word is based on three different roots.

(a) /Mula avadharane/

(b) /Mula Pratisthayam/

(c) /Mula Ropane/

M. Monier William's Sanskrit- English Dictionary explains the semantic of this word like 'The original root, germ, out of which all apparent forms are evolved. The primary cause / Maula / the head, chief, foremost and the crown.

In traditional Kashmiri language/Mola/is considered/Muladdhar a/(The main factor of the family) This is a respectable word also. Vedic/Rishi+Nauli/Kash/Rasoi+mola/ (Sage father).

In Kashmiri language the little boy is affectionately summoned as /Mola/. This is broken form of /Jata/Mauli/one who has hair on the crown of the head) but /Jata/word is gradually omitted.

According to the given roots it was Sexologically established fact in these days that progeny is responsible only with the aid of the father and the very root relates its evidence.

K. 2. /Bhratra (Rigveda 1.64.1) "brother" After so many phonetic changes, present spoken form of Kashmiri is/Boya/ (Brother).

K. 3. /Bhagini/ (Yaska's Nirukta-36) "sister" In modern Kashmirit it is /Beni/(Sister).

K. 4. /Jani/ (Rigveda 4.52.1) "Woman". The present articulation in Kashmiri, has become voiced-affricative /zanya/ (Woman).

K. 5. /Putra/ (Rigveda2.29.5) "Son" In the Panjabi; Kashmiri and Hittate/tre/changes into/tar/ Or/tur. Such forms of Hittite language were found 2000 B.C. in Bogazkoi near, Asia minor) In Kashmiri it is articulated as/potur.

K. 6. /Pautra / (Atharva veda 19.5.30) "Grand-son" Kashmiri-/Putur/(grand-son).

K. 7. /Kumari/19 (Rigveda 1.55.16) "girl" /In Kashmiri linguistics this is a common feature that central-consonant along with the long vowel omits.

I. Ved. / Tushara / Kash. / Tur. / (Cold)

II. Ved. / Kapala / Kash. / Kalu / (Head)

III. Ved. / Shragal / Kash. / Shala / (Jackal)

IV. Ved. / Shamula / Kash. / Shal / (Shawl)

Similarly the central consonant of / Kumari/ is omitted alongwith the long vowel : Kashmiri form is / Kur / (girl or daughter).

K. 7. /Vayasi/ (Bhasa's-Svapna-Vasovadetta - 2.34) "female friend," In Present Kashmiri/ Vyes/.

K. 8. /Jam/ (Rigveda- 1.31.10) "Husband's sister." It is a startling fact that this ancient Rigvadic word /Jam/ is retained only in Kashmiri and no other Indo-Aryan-language.

In Kashmiri/J/has changed into voiced affricative and present articulation is /zam/.

K. 9. /Devri/ (Rigveda- 10.86.85) "Husband's brother." Here back/ri/has come to front This is special pecularity of Kashmiri Prakriat and /V/changes into /Y/ is common in all Indo-European and Indo-Aryan language.

K. 10. Vedic : /Shur/ (Rigveda 1.63.10, Nirukt 4/13) "child. In Braja Bhasa/S/has changed into-cha/, so it is/ chora/ (boy) chori (girl). Kash./Shur/ (Child).

Vedic : /Pitrivya/ (Rigveda 3.53.2) "Paternal uncle"

In Kashmiri female gender has come out after joining another form

K. 11. Vedic : /Pitravya+ananya/ (Unlce's Beloved) Kashmiri/Pechanya/(aunt).

K. 12. Vedic : Jyeshth Pitrivya + Ananya/Kashmiri/Jith Pechanya/ (Eldest Aunt).

K. 13. Vedic : /Madyam + Pitrivyat / Ananya / Kashmiri/

manzim Pechanya/ (middle-aunt)

K. 14. Vedic : /Kaniseth + Pitrivya + Ananya / Kashmir /

Knus Pechanya/ (youngest aunt).

Same rule is applied on mother's sister-in-law.

K. 15. Vedic : /Matul + Ananya / (Yajnavalkya-smriti-, 3.23.2) (Mother's brother's wife)

Kashmiri/Mamanya/ (Maternal Aunt).

K. 16. Vedic : /Pitrivya + Bharatri (Rig, 3 5.82/1.14) "Paternal Brother)" Kashmiri/Pitur-Boyal/

K. 17. Vedic : /Pitrivya + Bhagini / (Rig. 3.53.2, Yaska's nirukta- 3/6) (Paternal-sister)."

Kashmiri articulation / Pitura-Beni

K. 18. Vedic /Pitrivya+Bhratri + Kakini / (Rig 3,53.2 1.16.5 "Kakini" Rudra Yamala tantra " One who bestows nectar (Kakini Amrita Jevini) Modern Kashmiri / Piturbay Kakany / (Paternal brother's wife).

Maharashtri = /kaki/(brother's wife)

K. 19. Vedic : /Matul/ (Asvalayana-grihyasutri 1.24.4) Declension of vocative case / Mama / (V.S. Apte's Sanskrit English Dictionary Vol. II p. 1263) Maternal uncle. Kashmiri articulation/mam/The Kinship of maternal uncle side follows the same pattern.

K. 20. Vedic/Mam-ith-Bharatri/ (Yajnavalkya-Smriti-3.232, Rig. V, 1.164) "Maternal brother" Kashmiri/mamutur-Boya. "Maternal brother"

K. 21. Vedic/mam-ith-Bhagini/ (Yaska's Nirukta 3.6)

In Kashmiri language / mamutur-Beni/ "Maternal sister" The kinship is expanded by using / Mam-ith/ which denotes the maternal uncle's side.

K. 22. Vedic : (mam-ith-Jami / Kah / Mamutur-zam / (maternal-sister-in-law).

K. 23. Vedic : (Mam-ith-Bhratri-Kakini/Kash. / Mamutur-Bay-Kakany) (maternal sister-in-law).

The maternal uncle's third generation extends on the same principle.

K. 24. Vedic : /Mamith-Bhratri-nicchiva/

Kashmiri-mamutur-Bay Sund-Nchuv / (Maternal brothers son).

/Sund/post position belongs to Shourseni Prakrit, there it is used for oblative while in Kashmiri it is used for genitive.

K. 25. Vedic:/mam-ith-Bhratri-Kumari/Kashmir-mamutur-Bay-Sunz-kur/(maternal & brother's daughters/Sunz/Post Position as genitive in female gender)

K. 26. /Matri Mouli-alaya / (mother father's house) Kashmir/Malunya/. (In Kashmiri prakirt/T/and/d/ generally changed into /J/.

O. 27. Vedic : /Krevyada/Kashmir/Kavuja/an appointed man of cremation ground.

O. 28. Vedic : /Matri / Kashmiri/Maj/ (Mother)

K. 29. Vedic : /Bratri-kakini/Kash/Bayikakuny/ Sister-in-law" Or general term for brother's wife The gradual development according to the Age-group.

K. 30. /Jyshth-Bhratri-Kakini/ "eldest" brother's wife "Kash/zithbaykakanya/

K. 31. Vedic : /Madhyama - Bhratri - Kakini /Kashmiri / Manzum-Baykakanya/ "middle brothers wife."

Same rule is applied for the formation of male gender.

K. 32. Kash-Zuth petur/eldest uncle.

K. 33. Kash/Manzum Petur/ (middle uncle)

K. 34. Kash/knus petur/youngest uncle.

K. 35. Vedic : /Matrishvasri / Panini Asthadhyayi 4.1.134 "Maternal Aunt"

K. 36. Bangla/Masim/

K. 37. Maharasthri/masi/

O. 38. Punjabi/Masi

K. 39. Kashmiri/mas/

K. 40. Vedic : /Pitrishvarri/ (Panini 4.1.135)

O. 41. Bangla/Pisiwa/

O. 42. Sindhi/Pa/

O. 43. Punjabi/Phuphi/

O. 44. Kashmiri/Popha/ (father sister)

The male gender is made by using /uva/suffix/.

K. 45. Vedic : /Masuv/ (maternal uncle for Husband of mother's sister). /Paphuv/ (Paternal uncler or Husband of father's sister)

This will not be off the point to mention that the male-maternal uncle and male-paternal uncle is missing in vedic literature. But Kashmiri has retained its ancient form, though phonetically tremendous change has occured.

K. 46. (a) Vedic : Matrishvasri+Dhavh/Kashmiri/Mas+Uv/ (Mother's Sister's Husband)

K. 47. (b) Vedic : /Pitrshvasri+Dhavn/Kashmiri/Paphu + Uv/. (father's sister's husband)

The Linguistic expansion of three kin names will follow the same rule.

K. 48. Vedic : /Matrishvasri+Bratri.

Kash/masatur+Boye/ (Maternal Brother)

K. 49. Vedic : Mastrishvasri + Bhagini/

Kash/Mastur + Beni (maternal sister).

K. 50. Vedic : /Matrishvasri + Bhagini + Ramanaka / Kash.

/Masur + Beni (Hund) + Run (Hund/see k. 24) English/Maternal + Sister's+ Husband/

K. 51. Vedic: /Patrishvasri+Bhagini+Ramanaka/ (Paternal+sister's husband) Kash/Pophatur+Beni (Hund) +Run (Hund/see k. 24)

K. 52. Vedic : Ouras + Bhratri/Rigveda 1.116.4-1 Sakuutala- 7

"Step brother". Kash. Vore+Boyi

K. 53. Vedic : /Auras + Bhagini (Yaska's Nirukt 3/6) Kash /Vora+Beni / "Step sister). In Kashmiri/Ouras/is essentially used step kin-name relation.

K. 54. Vedic : (Aurasa + Mam / Kash / Vora mam/ (Step maternal uncle).

K. 55. Vedic : /Aurasa Mouli / Kash / Vora + mal/ "Step father."

K. 56. Vedic : Aurasa Matri/kash/Vora maja/English/Step mother/.

K. 57. Vedic : Aurasa Necchivi (Rig. 8.93.22)

Kash. /Vora nechuva/"Step son"

K. 58. Vedic : /Garbha + aurasa/Kash/Gobour/.

(Not particularly one's own son but used for any boy frequently)

K. 59. Vedic : = /Bhratri+Putra/ (Rig. 1.164.2)

Kashmir/Bapathur/Nephew.

K. 60. Vedic : /Bagini+Putra/ (Yaska's Nirukt-36) (Rigveda- 2.99.5) Kashmir/Benthur/Sister's son.

K. 61. Vedic : /Bhratri+Tanuja/ (Rigveda 5.70.4) (Yaska's Nirukta3/6) Kash./Bevaz/ (niece, brother's daughter)

K. 62. Vedic /Bhagini+tanuja/(Yaska's Nirukta 3.6)

Kash./Bavaz/"Sister's daughter"

K. 63. Vedic : Snusha/ (Rig. 10.86.13) "bride"

In Kashmiri linguistics generally frontal voweless consonant/S omits. Kash./Nosh/(Bride)

K. 64. Vedic : /Smabandhin/ (Mahabharata 5.17.20)

"A relation by marriage"

Kashmiri/Sonya/ (bride's or bridegroom's father)

Kashmiri/Sonyenya (bride's or Bridegroom's mother)

K. 65. Vedic : /Vridha+Abha/ (Aitereya Brahman 3.48.9 and Kaskritsna Grammar).

The basic root is /Abha Janane which means originator, race, lineage and father. In Sanskrit language the common word for grand-father is/Pitamaha which denotes greater than father. But in Kashmiri prote-vedic form is adopted for this kinname which means Old originator of the family.

Kashmiri/Budi+Bab / (grand-father)

K. 66. Vedic : /Nana / (Rigveda 9.112.3)

In Rigveda/Nana/is registered for mother-but the ancient must have remained for grand-mother. The new Indo-Aryan languages of India have retained this kin-name with slight classification in respect of maternal and paternal relations viz. /Nana-Nani/ grandma and grand-pa of maternal side and/Dada-Dadi/Grandma and grand-pa or paternal side. But in Kashmiri it is some how different, the paternal grandma is classified, if it becomes necessary other wise not/garucha+Nannya/whose origin is/Griha+ith+Nana (belongs to paternal home) while the maternal grand mother is known as/Matamalucha+Nanya/which is the broken form of/Matri+Mouli+Ayana/(belongs to mother's fathers house).

K. 67. Vedic : Avarin+jaya / (Rigved 10.34.2.3). / Avarinmeans a degraded or a censured women.

Kash./Voruz/ (a women who marries after the death of her husband. Generally such marriages are not considered socially good.

K. 68. Vedic : /Sapatni / (Rigveda 3.1.10) (Co-wife)

(In Kashmiri linguistics /P/ has changed into /V/ and only /N/ is retained out of /tni/.

Kash-/Svon/ (Co-wife)

K. 69. Vedic : /Poutra / (Atharvaveda 9.5.00. 11.7.16)

"grand-son" Kash. /putur / (Grand son)

K. 70. Vedic. / Naptri / (Samaveda 5.13. (Arnayagan) grand-daughter."

In Kashmiri/Nap/is omitted and/tri/is changed into/Jri/Kashmiri/zura/.

K. 71. Vedic : /Jamatri/ (Rigveda 8.2.2) "Son-in-law"

Kash/Zamatur/(Son-in-law)

(In Kashmiri prakrit/Ri/chages into/tur/.

K. 72. Vedic : /Shashur/Rigveda 10.86.13) father-in-law."

In Kashmiri Prakrita vowelless consonent usually omits in case it is in front of the word.

K. 73. Vedic : /Sphot/Kashmiri/Phut (Broken).

K. 74. Vedic : /Sphorum/Kashmiri/Phorun/ (trob of eye)

This front/V/of the Shrashru/is omitted and/Sh/is changed into /H/. Kashmiri/Hihuru/
(father-in-law).

K. 75. Vedic : /Shrashru/(Rigveda : 10.85.46, 1034,3).

The linguistic development is almost same as already seen in Hihura/ (father-in-law).

Kashmiri/Hasha/ (mother-in-law),

The in-laws kin-names follow the same principle.

K. 76. Vedic : /Pitrivya + Shvashri / (father-in-law's brothere).

Kashmiri / Petru Hihur/

K. 77. Vedic : /Pitrivya Shaashru / (father-in-law's brother's wife)

Kashmiri /Petru / Has/

The following three terms indicate Age-wise chronology :

K. 78. Vedic : /Jyosth / Kashmiri /zath (eldest)

K. 79. Vedic : /Madhyama/Kashmiri/Manzum/ (middle)

K. 80. Vedic : Kanitha/Kashmiri/Knus/ (Youngest).

Euphonic combination of allomorph is framed like this

K. 81. Vedic : Jyosth+Pitrivya+Shrashura/Kashmiri/Zuth+Petru+Hihur/

(father-in-law's eldest brother).

K. 82. Vedic : /Jyoth+Pitrivya+Shvashru/Kashmiri/zith+petri+Has/ (father-in-laws eldest brother's wife) The other forms adopt the same rule.

K. 83. Vedic : Matrisvasri + Shrashures / Kash. Masu + Hihur/ (mother-in-laws sister's husband)

The Age-wise gradation follows the same pattern i.e./zuth/ (eldest). / Manzum / (middle) /Knus / (youngest).

K. 84. Vedic : /Matrisvasri + Shashru / Kashmiri/Masu + Hash/

K. 85. Vedic Patri + Shavsri+Shashru/

Kashmir / Pephu+Hihur (father-in-laws sister's husband).

K. 86. Vedic / Pitrishavsri+Shavashru/Kash-Pephu+Has/ father-in laws sister).

The Age-wise grouping as classified in three forms / Zuth / (Eldest) / Manzum (Middle) and /Knus/ (youngest)

K. 87. Vedic / Shyalah / Rigveda 1.00. 1.109.2) Kashmir / (brother-in-law) /Sh/changes into /H/ and /L/ changes into /R/

K. 88. Vedic : Shyalh Bharya/Kas./Haharu Bayi/ (brother-in-laws wife or wife's brother's wife)

K. 89. Vedic : Shyale / (Ate's Sanskrit D. Part II. 1672)

(Rigveda-1-109.2) Kash./Sala/(wife's sister)

K. 90. Vedic : /Syali+Dhava/Appetis Sanskrit. Part III 1672) (wife's sister's husband (In Kashmiri/L/usually changes into/J/see No. 7 Kashmiri/Sajuv/ (wife's sisters husband).

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[*Reproduced from, "Heritage of Kashmir" 1980. Edited by J.L.K. Jalali and F.M. Hussain, Srinagar*.]

Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

17 Kashmiri

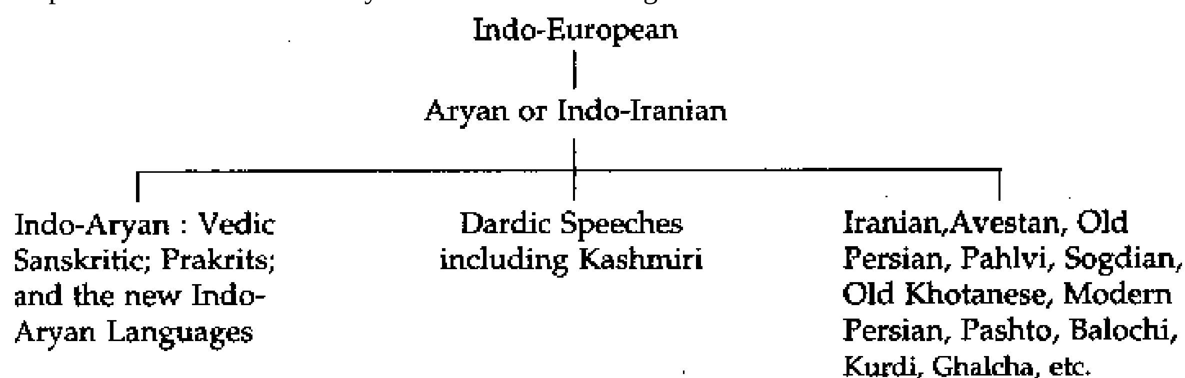
P. N. K. Bamzai

Though Sanskrit and Persian were the medium of polite literature, they became the domain of the learned few. The masses, on the other hand, spoke Prakrit which, with the admixture of words and phrases from the many languages spoken on the borders of the Valley, assumed the form of a new vernacularKashmiri. Whereas during its early phase, the language was preponderatingly composed of Sanskrit words and idioms, its character changed considerably with the advent of Muslim rule in the fourteenth century, when Persian and Arabic words and expressions entered into its expanding vocabulary, shaping it to the form as it is spoken these days. No wonder that it was during the early Sultan period that Kashmiri language attained a distinct status, and that its earliest-known literature is datable to only the fifteecth century A.D.

17.1 Origin

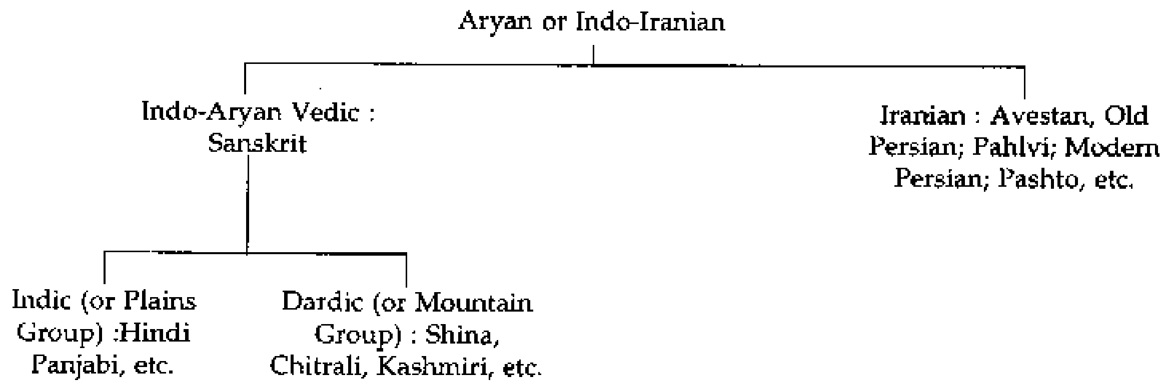
Several theories have been put forth regarding the origin of the Kashmiri language. It is traditionally believed by the Kashmiri Pandits and scholars like Jules Block, George Morgenstierne and Ralph L. Turner agree with them that Kashmiri is an offshoot of the Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit language. Dr. Grierson's researches have, however, shown that there is, in addition to the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European, the Dardic, which is intermediate to the Iranian and Indo-Aryan, and that Kashmiri is ntimately connected with it. According to him, the common ancestors of the Indo-Aryans appear to have followed up the course of the Oxus and the Jaxartes into the highlying country round Khokand where a portion of them separated from the others marching south over the western passes of the Hindukush into the valley of the river Kabul, and thence into the plains of India where they settled as the ancestors of the present Indo-Aryans. The Aryans who remained behind on the north of the Hindukush and who did not share into the migration to the Kabul Valley spread eastwards and westwards. Those who migrated to the east, occupied the Pamirs and now speak Ghalchah. Thus Aryan is the parent stock which shoots off the Indo-Aryan languages. After the great fission which separated the main body of the Indo-Aryans from the Iranians, another branch, the Dardic, shoots off and settles in what we call Dardistan. The word Dard is an ancient one and is of frequent occurrence in the early Sanskrit geographical works and Puranas. Greek and Romans included under the name of the Dard country the whole mountainous tract between the Hindukush and the frontiers of India proper. The Aryan languages spoken in this region are therefore called Dardic. They are Kafir, Chitrali, Shina, Kashmiri and Kohistani.[1] The Kashmiri, as it is spoken nowadays, has been considerably influenced by the neighbouring languages of Tibetan stock.

The position can be indicated by means of the following tables :



[1] *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. viii, Part II.*

Another Theory :



The complex question of the exact affiliation of Kashmiri remains still an open one. "The fact remains that ever since its earliest history, unlike its western neighbours like Shina and the Kafir dialects, Kashmiri has always remained under the tutelage of Sanskrit."[1] The earliest specimen of Kashmiri is the well-known verse in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, where the author, to characterize the boorishness of the Domba relative of king Cakravarman, quotes the vernacular words spoken by him. Ranga, whose daughters, the dancers Hamsa and Nagalata, were taken by the king as his wives, was granted the village Helu in Jagir by the latter, but the document relating to the grant was not registered by the official recorder. Angirly Ranga shouts at him, "You son of a slave, why do you not write : *Rangas Helu dinna* (Helu is to be granted to Ranga)"? In modern Kashmiri this would be *Rangas Hela dyunn*. Here the grammatical elements are traceable through Prakrit to Old. Indo-Aryan (spoken form of Vedic Sanskrit).

That Kashmiri had become the popular language of the land long before the time of Kalhana (12th century A.D.) is shown by the use in the *Rajatarangini* of numerous Sanskritised version of Kashmiri proverbs extant even today. For instance, in v-401 and viii-565, we have a reference to the well-known proverb : *nov shin chhu galan pranis shinas*, the new snow melts the old one. Similarly in vii-1226, there is a marked resemblance to the Kashmiri idiom : *myac ti thavanas na*, "he destroyed him and his house till the very earth."[2]

But it is a hundred years after Kalhana that the earliest known work in the old Kashmiri, *Mahanay Prakash*, was written by Siti Kantha.

The theme of the book is Trantric worship and as its name suggests, it aims at finding the highest meaning of Truth through Tantric rituals. A close study of its passages which are rather difficult to understand now shows the use of a large number of Sanskrit words.

Though for over a hundred years after *Mahanay Prakash* we do not come across any work in Kashmiri, it seems that the language had made further headway. For, in the fourteenth century when Lalleshwari appeared on the scene, she realised that the times demanded the propagation of her doctrine in the language of the masses. She poured forth her heart, rich in spiritual and mystic experience, in Kashmiri verse. Her language is easier to follow and in some cases comes very near that spoken now. Her Sayings which became popular were learnt by heart by her followers and in this way were passed down from generation to generation. A collection of these was put in writing by Bhaskara Rajanaka towards the end of the seventeenth century A.D.

Lalleshwari in her *Vakyas* begins with a narration of her own spiritual experiences. She tells us that she wandered far and wide in search of Truth, made pilgrimages to holy places and sought salvation through observance of rituals, but all in vain. Then suddenly she found the 'Truthful One' in her own home :

Lalla bo drayas lolare
Chhandan lossum dyan kyaho rat,
Wuchhum Pandit tah pananih gare,

Suy me rutmas nishtiwr tah sat.
Passionate with longing in my eyes

[1.] Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Kashmir, Vol. iv, p. 75.

[2.] For other passages of similar nature, see vii-1115, viii-148, viii-2546.

Searching wide, and seeking day and night
Lo! I beheld the Truthful One, the Wise,
Here in my own house, filling my gaze.
That was the day of my auspicious star.
Breathless I held Him my guide to be.

But to reach this stage she had to work hard and undergo the exacting discipline of *Yoga* :

Damadam karum daman hale
Prazalyom deep tai naneyam zat
Gananaki ambar pairim tane
Yim pad Lalli vani tim hrydi ankh.
So my lamp of knowledge blazed afar
My bright soul stood revealed to me.
I then flung my inner light far and wide
And, with darkness all around me sealed,
Did I garner truth and hold Him tight.

Meanwhile Sanskrit had been supplanted by Persian as court language and a number of Sayyids who were scared away by Timur from Persia and Central Asia came and settled down in Kashmir. Their contacts with indigenous saints and savants gave rise to an eclectic school of Islamic Rishis who also poured forth their preachings and teachings in vernacular. The founder of the Order, Sheikh Nur-ud-din, born in about 1377 A.D., conveyed his mystical experiences and teachings in hundreds of couplets known as *shrukh* (Sans. *sutra*) which became current coins of quotation among the Kashmiris who learnt them by heart. His ideas and experiences can be gathered from the following verses given in translation :

The lover is he who burns with love,
Whose self shines like gold.
When man's heart flares up with the blaze of love
Then shall he reach the Infinite.
Shield no thyself against His arrows,
Turn not the face from His sword.
Consider misfortune as sweet as sugar.
Therein lies thy salvation
In this world and the next.

In his collection of saying known as *Nur-nama* and *Rishi-nama* we find a marked influence of Persian and Arabic words the number of which increases in the later works.

Again there is a long gap of over a hundred years of which no literature in Kashmiri is now extant. A mythological poem *Banasur-vadha* composed in the fifteenth century is perhaps the oldest narrative poem in Kashmiri so far known.

Khwaja Habibullah Naushahri who was a profound scholar in Persian (see p. 513 above) also composed mystic poems in Kashmiri. Born in the middle of the sixteenth century he is the connecting link between the mystic poetry of earlier period and the '*lol*' or love lyrics which were a feature of Kashmiri poetry in succeeding centuries. Complains he :

From far off he shot at me arrows of fascination,
Then ran away having injured my heart,
O, the charm of his casting a look back!
He saw me and yet pretended not to know!

[Excerpted from : "Socio-Economic History of Kashmir", by P. N. K. Bamzai (1987)

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Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

18 The Dying Linguistic Heritage of the Kashmiris

The melting pot generation[1]

Prof. Braj B. Kachru

18.1 Introduction

I propose to outline below several interrelated issues about the linguistic heritage of Kashmiri Pandits in the larger cultural context of the current diasporic situation of the community. I shall briefly present the major strands of the ongoing debate on the origins of the Kashmiri language; the creativity in the language; the agony of multiple systems of writing, and the gradual but perceptible indicators of the decay of the language, its comatose stage and, finally, the ultimate death of the language.

The post-1940, diaspore-bred generation of Kashmiris might find this thumbnail sociolinguistic sketch of some interest. What motivated this attempt is the excitement often muted that I witness in the diaspora Pandit community, and among some Muslim Kashmiris I met in India and in Islamabad, Lahore, and Muree in Pakistan in January, 1989, for preserving and maintaining the "beloved language." And I note this excitement in the initiatives started in India, particularly in Calcutta (now Kolkata), and in the frequent e-mails I receive from Boston, San Francisco, and Washington DC to mention just three places from the USA. Perhaps this excitement is more than just a linguistic and cultural nostalgia found in diasporic communities going through multiple processes of "melting" within a larger community in India and beyond. Kashmiri's interest in a reclamation of identity through the preservation of their language is a proactive effort whose evolution and results will be insightful to watch.

The antecedents of the linguistic heritage of the Kashmiris Hindus, Muslims, and a handful of Sikhs continues to be as hotly debated as are aspects of Kashmiri culture, the constructs of the identities of the natives of Kashmir and the future of their land.

The Kashmiri language, called *Kashur* by the Kashmiris, and its dialects are spoken in about a 10,000 square mile region in the bowl-shaped valley of the Kashmir Province, in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In other languages (e.g., Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Tamil) the language is called *kaashmiri* or *kashmiri*. English variant spellings include *kaschemiri*, *cashmiri*, *Cashmeeree*, and *kacmiri*. The state borders with linguistically and culturally diverse regions, not all of which have traditionally been congenial to the inhabitants of Kashmir. In the north, the state borders on Afghanistan, Tajakistan and China. In the east there is enchanting Tibet and in the west there is Pakistan, that was carved out of the subcontinent in 1947. In this northernmost state of the Republic of India live a small percentage of India's population just 0.8 percent. But that figure is misleading since Kashmir is geographically and culturally of strategic importance, and has a fascinating historical legacy and cultural pluralism that has been characterized both in literature and folklore as *Kashmiriyat* (Kashmiriness) an often mentioned elusive term evoking the rich, pluralistic cultural and aesthetic traditions of the Valley.

In the larger configuration of languages in India, Kashmiri is a minority language, with 3,174,684 speakers (census 1981), mainly situated in the Valley, also referred to as the "Kashmir *mandala*," a geographical zone, which, in liturgical terms, is a "circle." The association of this concept is with *Tantric* literary traditions and rituals and with artistic creativity. There is also a smaller number of Kashmiri speakers within the boundaries of the state, in the Doda district, Poonch-Rajori, Basohli and Riasi. The diaspora varieties of *Kashmiri* are used in other parts of India, in parts of Asia, and have in recent years been transplanted in Europe and the USA.

In diaspora, whether in India or abroad, the language is going through gradual attrition due to the impact of the languages of wider communication, mainly Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, and English. The resultant language Shift acquisition of a dominant language that is more functionally relevant in the new contexts will ultimately result in the "death" of Kashmiri. We notice this shift in major metropolitan cities of India, where a significant number of Pandits have generally been forced to relocate themselves in the post-1980s and earlier.

18.2 Linguistic Affinity of Kashmiri

The origin and linguistic affinity of the language of Kashmiris has been a point of prolonged scholarly debate. In its structure and vocabulary the Kashmiri language has preserved features of extended language contact and convergence with contiguous typologically distinct languages. In the north, it is surrounded by Shina (a Dardic language), in the east by Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g., Balti, Ladakhi), in the west by Pahari and Punjabi dialects, and in the South by Dogri and Pahari dialects. The debate about the affinity of Kashmiri centers around one major issue : whether Kashmiri is affiliated to the Indo-Aryan or Dardic family of languages. The central points of this ongoing debate are outlined here.

In Grierson's now out-dated view (e.g. Grierson 1915 and 1919) Kashmiri belongs to a distinct group of languages within the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European briefly discussed below. The other members of this group are Indo-Aryan and Iranian. Grierson considers Kashmiri a "mixed language" of "a Sanskritic form of speech" that belongs to the Dard group of the Pishacha family, allied to Shina. The Dardic substratum, asserts Grierson, forms the basis of the Kashmiri sound system, word formation, grammar and prosodic systems.

He identifies several linguistic features that are "peculiar" of Pishacha and which Pishacha shares with Eranian [Iranian]. Therefore, argues Grierson, Kashmiri must be treated as related. These characteristic (or what he considers "peculiar") features of Kashmiri include : absence of voiced aspirates; consonantal epenthesis (change in a consonant under the influence of the following vowel or semi-vowel); aspiration of stops in final position; absence of vowel alteration or gemination of Prakrit borrowings; non-deletion of *t* in the environment V+V; presence of a (*ah*) as a marker of indefinitization; presence of large number of postpositions peculiar to Pishacha; the similarity of the numerical system with Pishacha a three-fold system of demonstrative pronouns; a three-term system for the past tense; and difference in the word order. And, in spite of these differences, Grierson concedes that Kashmiri has been "powefully influenced by Indian culture and literature" and that this influence is evident in its vocabulary. However, he is emphatic that some of the "commonest words", words that are seldom borrowed and retained for long periods by unrelated languages, in Kashmiri correspond to Shina words and are of Pishacha origin. Such words include earlier numerals, and kinship terms such as 'father' and 'mother'.

The Dardic languages, in Grierson's view, form a third group, a sub-family, of the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European (Grierson 1919 : 1-10), the other two being Indo-Aryan and Iranian. The Pishacha languages, including the Shina Khowar group, "occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskritic languages of India proper and Eranian [Iranian] languages farther to the west." These languages, Grierson concludes, are "neither of Indian nor of Eranian origin, but form a third branch of the Aryan stock" (1906). However, Grierson agrees that the Dardic languages have many shared features with the Sanskritic languages, and other features that they share with the Iranian family of languages. The Dardic family, he observes, has thus separated from the parent stem after it branched forth from the Indian languages, "but before the Eranian [Iranian] languages had developed all their peculiar characteristics" (ibid.).

Grierson's controversial classification provides the following major groups of the Dardic languages:

1. The Kafir group (including Bashgali, Wai-ala, Wasi-veri, Ashkund, Kalasha, Gawar-bati, and Pashai);

2. The Khowar (or Chitrali) group; and

3. The Dard group (including Shina, Kashmiri, Kashtwari, Siraji, Rambani, and Kohistani). The Kohistani group also includes Garwi, Torwali, and Maiya.

This position of Grierson's has evoked essentially two types of responses. One group of scholars (e.g. Chatterji 1963) adopted the middle path. On this question Chatterji makes two observations : First, that in spite of the Dardic impact on the Kashmiri people and their language, Kashmiri "..... became a part of Sanskritic culture. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhramsha from the Midland and from Northern Punjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri ..." (1963). Secondly, he concludes that the question of the linguistic affiliation of Kashmiri still is not settled and remains an open one.

The second group of scholars rejects Grierson's hypothesis (e.g., Fussman 1972, Ganju 1991, Masica 1991, Pushp 1996, Toshakhani 1996 and Zakharyn 1984). Their research, based on extensive fieldwork and comparative textual and typological study, raises serious doubts about the linguistic validity of Grierson's conceptualization of the Dardic or Pishacha language group. Fussman (1972 : 11), says that the denomination "Dardic language" should not strictly speaking be applied to Kashmiri ("Inverssement *stricto sensu la* denomination langue darde ne devrait pas sappliquer au [Kashmiri]").

The terrain of the Dardic region has been much more accessible since Grierson's study, therefore more insightful fieldwork in the region has been possible. This accumulated evidence and research findings have made it possible for Masica, for example, to emphatically assert that Grierson's positions about the Dardic languages are "now definitely obsolete, and incorrect also in its details." These concerns were originally raised by Morgenstierne, among others (see also Ganju 1991, Koul and Hook [eds] 1984 and Toshakhani 1996).

In Morgenstiernes' view there is considerable evidence that the Dardic languages are purely of Indo-Aryan origin and can be traced to a form of speech that closely resembles Vedic. These languages have preserved archaisms and other features as they did not pass through the Prakrit stage : these features include three sibilants, several consonant clusters, and archaic vocabulary. According to Morgenstierne, the fact that there are archaisms present in Dardic that are lost in later Indo-Aryan, or that there is loss of aspiration in Dardic, is not at all evidence for a hypothesis that the languages are not Indo-Aryan. The Dardic languages, says Morgenstierne, "contain absolutely no features which cannot be derived from old IA [Indo-Aryan]" (1961). Morgenstierne concludes that Dardic languages (Kashmiri, Shina, Indus Kohistani, Khowar, Kalsha, Pashai, Tirahi) are Indo-Aryan languages. (See also Ganju 1991). The Kafir (Nuristani) languages (Kati, Waigali, Ashkun, and to some extent Dameli) present a different profile. These languages are in a middle position, although "very heavily overlaid by IA (Dardic) words and forms, these dialects have retained several decidedly un-Indian features" (1961:139). There is, says Morgenstierne, "not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages, and the Dardic area itself is intersected by a network of isoglosses, often of historical interest as indicating ancient lines of communication as well as barriers" (1961 : 139). However, Morgenstierne is less assertive of the Kafir (also called Nuristani) languages.

The controversy of the two major positions is summarized, among others, by Fussman 1972 and Strand 1973. There is agreement with the major position of Morgenstierne and his evidence that Kafir languages retain some archaic features of (perhaps) proto-Indo-Aryan. These languages have preserved several distinctive "non-Indian" characteristics. These include the loss of aspiration, since aspiration is not distinctive in the Iranian languages; a distinction between palatalized velar stops and IE labio-velars, a distinction that no longer exists in Vedic Sanskrit and these languages also maintain an archaic trait of the dental /s/ after /u/.

Whatever advances have been made in research on these languages, there still is a lack of reliable demographic details and extensive empirical data., and of typological and comparative studies. The earlier studies, essentially lexical lists and sketchy grammatical outlines (compiled around the 1830s) are not very insightful and often are of questionable authenticity. A majority of these languages and dialects have small numbers of users and have no literary traditions, with the exception of Kashmiri, which has a literary tradition that goes back as far as the 13th century. Survey of Kashmiri literature are available in English and other languages (e.g., Azad 1959, 1962, 1963 [3 vols. in Urdu], Kaul 1969; Kachru 1981, Toshakhani 1985 [in Hindi]).

18.3 The Agony of Scripts

In the choice of a script and in maintenance and promotion of it for writing Kashmiri, political ideology and religious identities have played an important role. The Kashmiri language has historically been written in four scripts : the Sharda, the Devanagari, the Perso-Arabic, and the Roman. The Sharda script, traced back to the Brahmi (3rd cent B.C.) was exclusively used by the Pandits of Kashmir; it closely resembles the Nagari script and is now almost extinct and is preserved mainly in manuscripts and

horoscopes. The Perso-Arabic script, with several modifications, has been adopted by the state government as the official script of the language. A number of modified versions of the Devanagari and Roman scripts continue to be used in whatever little is published in Kashmiri language and it indeed is very little. The differences in various versions of each script are essentially in the use of the diacritic marks.

The Roman script was used by the Baptist missionaries of Serampore in Bengal for publishing the Kashmiri versions of the New Testament (1821) and selected parts of the Old Testament (1827, 1832). This script, in Chatterji's view (1954:77), would have been "... the most reasonable and practical thing.." for the Kashmiri language. The Perso-Arabic writing, Chatterji continues "... is not at all a satisfactory solution...." It is, however, the Perso-Arabic script that has finally prevailed.

18.4 Shift, Decay, Last Words, and the Death of Kashmiri

This obituarial lexicon of decay, last words, and death for my mother tongue is not merely a reflection on an imagined future. It indeed is a reality that we are already witnessing. The recent scholarly debate and predictions of language death in South Asia and beyond has shown that a host of culturally and linguistically diverse human languages are passing through escalating critical stages of endangerment, decay, and ultimate demise. The question is : Is our mother tongue on that critical list? The way events are unfolding, especially for the Pandits of Kashmir, it is only excessive optimism that will stop us from saying that another generation will not witness a comatose Kashmiri language, particularly as used by the Pandit community.

The Kashmiri language in diaspora is a critical candidate for one or more of the stages of decay and death. The doomsday prediction is that in the present century we will witness the last words of 50 percent of the estimated 6,000 of the world's languages. This language extinction will be proportionately shared by India's 380 languages (if that estimated figure is not too conservative). What, then, does the horoscope of the Kashmiri language show? A short answer is : Decay and death!

This Cassandra-like attitude is based on a variety of indicators as reflected in the sociolinguistic history of our language. First, consider the current status of the language in Kashmir and beyond. The Eighth Schedule of India's constitution recognizes Kashmiri as one of the national languages; however, the state has adopted Urdu as the official language, thus, constraining Kashmiri from developing any professional functional domains that would alter its status of being essentially a "home language." Whatever educational uses are made of the Kashmiri medium have hardly any official functional uses, and the attitudes toward the language have not changed during the Post-1947 period. The inclusion of the Kashmiri language in the Eighth Schedule has no numerical or functional reason, but was primarily a political decision. The ongoing militancy and its ideological, cultural and religious constructs of Kashmir and its people have further weakened the case for *support and promotion of the Kashmiri language as an exponent of Kashmiriyat*.

Second, reflect on how the creative writers in Kashmiri traditionally have agonized about the attitude and status of our language. It is true that the history of Kashmiri literature shows the excitement of writers when they finally settle on Kashmiri as their medium, and at last find "their tongue" for literary creativity. However, we see that a majority of important Kashmiri poets first experimented with Urdu, Persian, Hindi, and some with English. Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur (1885-1952) considered Kashmiri a "backward language[2]," though he played the most important role in its literary revival. Dina Nath Nadim in 1974 candidly confessed that, "My language was Kashmiri, but we were ashamed of writing in Kashmiri. We were not just ashamed; we didn't know how to write in the language[3]." The story of other leading Kashmiri writers is not much different and the situation has not significantly altered.

The Kashmiris have historically given the status of literary, cultivated, or elitist languages and literatures to Sanskrit or Persian and, in recent years, to English. One earlier Kashmiri Persian poet, Lachman Raina (d. 1989), expresses this attitude in an often-quoted *masnavi* :

> ***Writing verse in Kashmiri***
> ***is groping in the dark.***

If you would shine as a candle-flame,
write in Persian verse;
you would merely waste your talent if
you write in Kashmiri.
For you would not the jasmine hide
in a nettle bush,
nor edible oil or spices waste
on a dish of mallow wild.
But times have changed and Persian is
no longer read;
and radish and sugar-loaf is
relished alike. (See J. L. Kaul. 1969 : 175)

In the 1940's, we notice a tone of reflection and agony on the status of Kashmiri. We see this agony in Mahjur's elder contemporary Zinda Kaul, "Masterji". In 1942, in his poem, *Paniny kath* (About Ourselves), a sympathetic non-Kashmiri chides a Kashmiri observing:

You are wasting time sitting at the shore,
while other nations are taking to boast eager to cross over.

To which the Kashmiri responds :

"We are like a house divided against itself, and have lost our mother tongue. Whither can such men go? The wise have said that food prepared by (disagreeing) partners goes to dogs (since each thinks it is the other's duty to watch it)."(Tr. by Zinda Kaul)

Models for comparison of excellence in literary creativity provide yet another clue for expressing the attitudes toward a language in Kashmiri literary culture the model has always been an external one. The lingering legacy of Persian cultural domination is evident in such comparisons : the Kashmiri poet Mahmud Gami of Shahbad (d. 1855) was called the Nizami of Kashmir and Wahab Pare (1846-1914) was favorably called the Firdausi of Kashmir; both notable poets in Persian. The markers of literary status are thus constructed by comparison with, for example, Persian, Sanskrit, and English.

Third, in functional terms, the Kashmiri language is a prisoner of its own borders on the one side the present line of control is around Uri, and on the other side the Banihal Pass. The currency of the Kashmiri language whatever functional domains the language has acquired is within that limited territory and ceases at these borders, one artificially created and one a natural boundary. And beyond that, in India and Pakistan, Kashmiris are in diaspora both real and imagined, forced and voluntary, recent and of the past generations. In some Kashmiri homes, in the plains of India and Pakistan, the language is already in a comatose state; in a majority of diasporic families one can see gradual and visible decay and death of the Kashmiri language as shown in Bhatt's insightful study of Kashmiris in Delhi (1989). I see this happen in my own family, in my children and in the *baradari* we interact with in my part of the USA and in other parts. In India all one has to do is to observe the linguistic behaviour and language use of our younger generation in Jammu and in the Pamposh Colony in South Delhi.

In the USA, Britain and other countries outside India which are, linguistically, extreme diasporic contexts for the Kashmiri language, I am reminded of the situation of the transplanted Armenian language. Speakers of Armenian English in the USA are characterized the "smouldering generation", and the Armenian culture revivalists have finally recognized that "the slide of obliteration" of the culture and language cannot be checked. The Kashmiri language has become the language of yet another diasporic "smouldering generation", in both their native land, and beyond the borders of India. What I have said about the Armenian and Kashmiri languages is the fate of a significant number of other languages diasporic or non-diasporic in India, in Asia, and beyond. This has happened in the past and this doom is present now. The colonization of America and Australia is responsible for the greatest extinction of indigenous languages, and closer at home in the British Isles English caused the extinction of Cornish and

Manx. I must, however, add that does not imply that in some form pockets of Kashmiri users will not survive, as do some Irish-speakers in some regions of Ireland.

It is indeed true that in diasporic contexts, by acquiring other languages, English, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali and so on, we Kashmiris certainly become more than we are linguistically, culturally and functionally. We encounter other traditions and acquire other identities. A major question remains : by loosing our language, culture, and traditions are we also becoming less than we are? We have yet to respond to this question in a constructive, pragmatic, organized and realistic way.

18.5 The Rescue Brigade for Kashmiri

The scenario of looming doom about the maintenance of the Kashmiri language, particularly in diaspora, as I indicated above, is indeed based on the past diasporic destinies of the worlds' many other minority languages. And in reality, the diasporic Kashmiris are not a "minority" in any significant numerical sense. We are somewhat like the Parsis (who emigrated to India in the 8^{th} cent. AD to avoid Muslim persecution) more visible than numerically countable. Therefore one has to consider what type of language input from other languages and interactional contexts the speakers of Kashmiri receive in melting pot situations. In contextualizing the Kashmiri language in our diasporic life and living, we must ask: What functions does Kashmiri serve? What competence in the language do we develop in our younger generation the "melting pot" generation for using the Kashmiri language as a medium to open doors to what we believe are the canonic texts of Kashmiri culture, legacy, and heritage.

By imparting some minimal knowledge in Kashmiri to our new generation who generally receive it grudgingly anyway are we providing them an effective tool to understand any *cultural resources* through the Kashmiri medium? Such literary resources are, for example, the mystic poet Lalla (b. around 1335); the Bhakti poets Parmananda (1719-1874), Krishna Razdan (1850-1925); Zinda Kaul "Masterji" (1884-1965); the pioneers of modernism Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur (1885-1952) and Abdul Ahad Azad (1903-1948); and a mjor initiators of the Renaissance in Kashmiri literature Dina Nath Nadim (1916-1988) and Abdul Rahman Rahi (b. 1925). We might also like to consider whether this transmission of awareness about this literary tradition oral and written has now to be done essentially through translations. The question of translations raises a string of other important questions. Perhaps one initial practical initiative is to plan one or two Kashmiri culture centers, where present and hopefully future generations can locate resources to study what we believe represents this legacy of Kashmiri culture and what we so fondly call *Kashmiriyat*.. I will not go into those details here.

One major center of the Pandit community is Delhi, both numerically and in terms of sociopolitical activism. However, within Delhi there is no center which in any serious sense qualifies as a repository of Kashmiri cultural resources historical, social, intellectual, and literary.

We have no organized access to valuable papers of Kashmiri Pandit thinkers, writers, and artists which reflect their perceptions of our social, political, and ideological movements. We have no coordinated archives of the sociocultural history of the past and the present of our community and of the communities that played a vital role in our lives.

Our younger generation should have access to the major studies and debates about Kashmir and Kashmiris as chronicled and represented in the published and oral sources from Srinagar before and after 1980s. These resources if these have not already been destroyed include, for example, the daily *Martand*, representing one articulate voice of the Pandits of the Valley; the *Hamdard*, edited by a provocative and often controversial political activist Prem Nath Bazaz; the weekly *Desh* associated with the pioneering social reformer and visionary leader Kashyap Bhandu; the weekly *Vitasta* edited by Amarnath Kak; and the *Jyoti* organ of the Kashmiri Pandit Samaj Sudhar Samiti under the dedicated leadership of Pandit Gopi Krishna who earned international reputation as a proponent of the Kundalini yoga ("path to higher consciousness"). This list is long and should include resources on major Kashmiri thinkers, creative writes, and artists.

If we agree with the Cassandra-like belief that this wave of doom is resulting in *linguicide*, *language death*, and *language decay* of the world's minority languages and cultures, and if we believe that our

mother tongue Kashmiri is already engulfed by this wave, now is the time to pause and ask : What role can the "rescue brigades" of the Kashmiri languages and culture play?

It appears that the wave has already engulfed the Kashmiri language so far as the Kashmiri Pandit community is concerned. It is present in the refugee camps which the Indian government and media, in a semantically offensive and demeaning way, have termed camps for "migrants" from Kashmir. The doom is active in the diasporic contexts, permanent and temporary, and it is noticeable in the melting pot contexts in the USA, Britain, and in several Asian countries where Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, have relocated in small-very small-numbers.

There, however, is certainly some excitement often muted about preserving the "beloved language." I see this excitement in the letters I receive requesting copies of the manual *An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri* (2 vols.), and in initiatives started in Boston, San Francisco, in Washington DC, in Kolkata, and (perhaps) in Delhi. I see it also in the interest shown in my website for learning spoken Kashmiri. (The credit for creating this website goes to Sunil Fotedar of Houstan, Texas, who proposed it, developed it, and is still refining it with dedication and commitment).

The doom I have discussed above is Hydra-like : It has many faces and the decay of the Kashmiri language is just one face. There is yet another more ominous face, that of the extinction of the Kashmiri Pandits as a community. We see indication and a warning of this threat in a survey report recently released by the Medical Aid, a non-governmental organization, auguring that the population of displaced Pandits is not only "declining fast," but also that the community is "sure to face extinction." This survey, submitted to the National Human Rights Commission, was conducted in one of the "migrant" camps in Jammu.[4]

In the past decade over 200,000 Pandits have been forced to leave the Valley due to increasing militancy. The survey further shows that 13,708 "migrant" Pandits have died in the camps, compared to only 4735 births. Dr Choudary tells us that "if the present death rate continues, the Pandits are sure to face extinction." These indeed are chilling words, and if this doom of the community is not controlled, our next generation may not have to worry any more about saving the Kashmiri language as used by the Pandits. We do not have to be reminded that a language does not have a life of its own, nor does a language die or decay through any natural ageing process. A language lives because it has users, and it dies or decays because its users believe that it has no vital uses for them, or its users have gradually shifted to other languages languages that provide access to, functionally and attitudinally, greener pastures. In other words, the melting pot has finally consumed them.

Notes

1. The "melting pot" generation refers to the attempts of minority groups (e.g., ethnic, religious, linguistic) for assimilation with the main stream, particularly in diasporic contexts. This term was originally used almost a century ago by Isreal Zangwill, and it continues to evoke both positive and negative reactions, for example, in the USA.

2. Mahjur used this statement in a published letter.

3. In an interview in his Jawahir Nagar home in Srinagar.

4. This news item appeared in The newspapertoday.com (Indiatody News Group) under the caption "The population of Hindus declining dangerously : Survey" by Izhar Wani, Srinagar, dated February, 25, 2001.

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19 Kashmiri Language and its Dialects

Prof. Omkar N. Koul

19.1 Area and speakers

The Kashmiri language, variously spelled as *Kaschemiri*, *Kacmiri*, *Kashmiri*, *Cashmiri*, and *Cashmeeree* by European scholars, is called *Ka:shur* or ka*:shir zaba:n* by its native speakers. It is primarily spoken in the Kashmir valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India, and also parts of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan. Kashmiri is also spoken in other parts of India, and in many other parts of the world by Kashmiri immigrants. The speech of the valley is divided into three groups, traditionally known as *mara:z,* spoken in the southern and southeastern region; *kamra:z,* spoken in the northern and northwestern region; and *yamra:z*, the dialect of Srinagar and its neighboring areas in the center. The variations in Kashmiri spoken in these areas are minor. Two other regional dialects of Kashmiri Kashtawari/Kishtawari and Poguli are spoken outside the valley. Siraji and Rambani, often listed as dialects of Kashmiri and also spoken outside the valley, are more akin to Dogri than Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984). The language spoken in the Srinagar area is regarded as standard and holds a prestigious position. It is widely used in literature and mass media. It is, however, neither the official language nor the medium of instruction in the state, except at the elementary level.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is the northern most state of India. It is bordered by Pakistan in the west, China in the north, and Tibet in the east. It is divided into three provinces, namely, Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh, each with its own distinct geographic, ethnic, and linguistic boundaries. The Kashmir valley, popularly known as Vale of Kashmir, is separated from Ladakh in the northeast by the Zojila pass in the Himalayan ranges. Most of the Ladakhi people speak Ladakhi, which is of Tibetan origin. Jammu is situated in the south beyond the Pir Panjal range of the Himalayas. The major language of this region is Dogri, an Indo-Aryan language. Kashtawari is spoken in the Kashtawar valley of the Doda district, which borders on the southeast of Kashmir province. Poguli is spoken in Pogul and the Paristan valley, west of Kashtwar. The extreme northwest territory of the state, known as Gilgit, and a small area in the west are under dispute at present. The three main languages of the northwest territory are Shina which is closely related to Kashmiri; Balti, related to Tibetan and spoken in Baltistan; and Burushaski, which is spoken in Hunza in the northeast of Baltistan.

According to the 1981 census of India, the total number of Kashmiri speakers in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is 3,174,684, with the main concentration in the Kashmir valley.

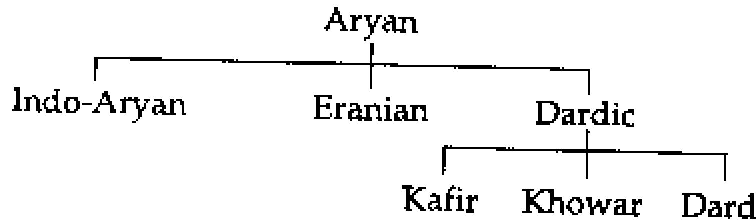
19.2 Linguistic affinity

The linguistic affinity of Kashmiri with the Indo-Aryan (IA) family has not been easy to establish within the framework of traditional comparative method. This is not surprising in view of its several unique features, which differ from other IA languages such as Punjabi, Sindhi, and Hindi. These features encompass several aspects of linguistics, including phonetics, phonology, morphology, pronominal system syntax, and prosody, as first documented in detail in Grierson (1915). In Kashmiri, for example, one finds several features such as insertion of epethetic vowels, aspiration of the final unvoiced stops, absence of voiced aspirates and gemination, presence of an indefinite article *ah* three-way distinction in the pronominal system and also in the past tenses, which are unlike other IA languages. It is worth noting here that in spite of these differences the great bulk of Kashmiri vocabulary is of the IA/Sanskritic stock, regardless of the heavy borrowing from Persian. In his elaborate article "The Linguistic Classification of Kashmiri", Grierson concludes that :

"Kashmiri is a mixed language, having at its basis a language of the Dard group of the Pis'acha family allied to Shina. It has been powerfully influenced by Indian culture and literature and the greater part of the vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to that of the Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. As, however, its basis, in other words, its phonetic system, its accidence, its syntax, its prosocy is Pis'acha, it must be classed as such, and not as a Sanskritic form of speech. (1915)

The word Pis'acha is later replaced by Grierson with Dardic, since the former has a derogatory connotation a cannibal demon in Indian mythology.

Grierson reiterates this classification in his Linguistic Survey of India (1919, 8,2:2). According to him. Aryan language branched into three distinct sister groups, with further subgroups as follows :



The three Dardic subgroups include several languages and dialects. For example, the Kafir group, includes Bashgali, Wai-ala, Wasi-veri of Veron, Ashkund, and Kalasha-Pashai subgroup; the Kho-war, also called Chitrali, group includes a few dialects; and finally the Dard group, which includes Shina, Kohistani, and Kashmiri. It is significant to note that Kashmiri has been classified as a Dardic language.

Turner (1927), Bloch (1934), and some others have expressed their opposition to Grierson's three way classification of Aryan. Morgenstierne, however, was the first person to seriously challenge this classification. After years of research in Afghanistan and surrounding areas, he concluded that Aryan branched into only Indo-Aryan and Eranian. He denies the existance of Dardic as a third sister. He places Ka:firi, presently Nuristani, languages under Eranian, and Khowar and Dard group under Indo-Aryan. This is clearly seen in his article "Some Features of Khowar Morphology."

The Dardic languages, in contradistinction to the true Kafir group, are of pure IA origin and go back to a form of speech closely resembling Vedic. This state of affairs cannot be altered by the fact that Dardic has preserved many archaisms lost in latter IA languages, by the widespread loss of aspiration. (1947:6)

In "Dardic and Kafir Languages," Morgenstierne, reiterates his views :

"[Dardic] ... contain absolutely no features which cannot be derived from old IA. They have simply retained a number of striking archaisms, which had already disappeared in most Prakrit dialects. Thus for example the distinction between three sibilant phonemes (s, s' (sh), s), or the retention, in the western dialects, of ancient st, st. The loss of aspiration of voiced stops in some Dardic dialects is late, and in most of them at least some trace of aspiration has been preserved. *There is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages*, and the Dardic area itself is intersected by a network of isoglosses, often of historical interest as indicating ancient lines of communication as well as barriers.

Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill languages, which in their relative isolation, accented by the invasion of Pathan tribes, have been in varying degrees sheltered against the expanding influences of IA Midland (Madhyadesh) innovations, being left free to develop on their own. (1961:138) [emphasis added]"

Morgenstierne's Dardic/IA hill group consists of six subgroups, which are listed here with our own simplified numbering and a few "remarks": (1) Kalasa, Khowar; (2) Dameli, Gawar-Bati, remnants of dialects similar to Gawar-Bati (however, see Kachru 1973:16; also 1981:4-5, fn. 8. Morgenstierne has reclassified this language with the Kafir group); (3) Pashai; (4) Bashkarik (Garwi/Gawri), Torwali, Maiya (Kohistani), Tirahi, etc.; (5) Sina, Phalura, Dumaki; and (6) Kashmiri, with Kashtawari as a true dialect and other dialects strongly influenced by Dogri.

This classification of Morgenstierne, which clearly identifies his Dardic group consisting of IA hill languages including Kashmiri as being a direct descendant of IA, has been taken as a departure point by Fussman (1972), Strand (1973), and some others with certain reservations and further clarifications. Fussman, for example, also warns that Dardic and Kafir languages are geographic, not linguistic, expressions :

> ***"... c'est une statement geographique, non linguistique. Prise au pied de la lettre, elle laisserait croire que font partie des langues dardes toutes les langues parlees au Dardistan. Or le Bur. [Burshaski], du Hunza, N'ayant d'I-A que quelques rares mot empruntes au Sh. [Shina], n'est pas une langue darde. Inversement* stricto sensu *la denomination langue darde ne devrait pas s'appliquer au K. [Kashmiri] (1972: 2, 11)."***

Strand (1973) agrees with Morgenstierne but has suggested a slightly revised classification. His work is mostly confined to Kafiri/Nuristani languages.

Returning to Kashmiri, though Morgenstierne has classified it as an IA language, the position of Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the famous Indian philologist, seems ambivalent :

"As a language, Kashmiri, at least in its basic stratum, belongs to the Dardic section of Aryan or Indo-Iranian. Possibly one section of the Aryans who came to India before 1000 B.C. and who spoke dialects very much like the languages of the Rig-Veda but with certain special characteristics (which later gave rise to the Dardic branch of Aryan) became established in the valley of Kashmir, and in the surrounding mountainous tracts; and very early, possibly from after the Vedic age, Brahminical Aryans with their Indo-Aryan "spoken" Sanskrit (and subsequently with the Prakrits) came and settled in Kashmir and other Himalayan areas .... In this way, Kashmir, in spite of a Dardic substratum in its people and its speech, became a part of the Sanskrit culture-world of India. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhramsha from the Midland and from Northern Panjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri, so that one might say that Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements. (Chatterji 1963 : 256)"

Schmidt (1981), and Koul and Schmidt (1984), represent the most recent work on Kashmiri, Shina, and their dialects. Their analyses are based on the comparison of phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary count, which previous scholars have used to define the so-called Dard group. Their findings confirm that both Shina and Kashmiri posses phonological and morphological features that characterize the so-called Dard group, (i.e., IA languages of the Dard area), though there are certain differences between the two. Shina, for exampe, has developed a tone system and has preserved a three-way contrast among sibilants. Kashmiri, in contrast, has developed a system of palatalized consonants. The most striking difference, according to these authors, is the occurence of verb-second order, which is peculiar only to Kashmiri and its dialect Kashtwari/Kishtwari. The Poguli dialect shows both verb-second and verb-final order in the root clause. Word-order facts about Poguli are also confirmed in Hook (1987).

It is worth nothing here that Zakharyin (1984), working within a quantitative typological framework, which is different from the comparative method, also concludes that Kashmiri belongs to the IA family. We will not go into the details of his analysis except to quote his remarks on the ergativity in Kashmiri and other IA languages:

"Among the Indo-European languages of the West India, Kashmiri is the one that concentrates to the greatest degree the characteristics of ergativoidness. Thus it is a kind of prototype for all ergativoid languages of the area. The Indo-European languages of the West demonstrate the mixed phrase of ergativoidness. Detailed analysis of each language allows to determine the degree of "verbalness" or "nominalness" in them. In this respect in Kashmiri the verbal features of ergativoidness are found to the maximum extent. Hindi and its dialects, specially those bordering Western Pahari (Bangaru, for example), represent the opposite prototype of a system with the greatest concentration of nominal features. While moving along the line of Kashmiri, Lahnda, Sindhi, Western Rajastani, Gujarati, Marathi, Western Hindi, and Eastern Punjabi dialects, we can easily observe the decrease of verbal features within the mixed type of ergativoidness and the increase of its nominal features. (1984 :43)"

In this connection, his earlier remarks in the same article are also worth noting :

".... the more we learn about the Dardic languages ... the more evident it becomes that G.A. Grierson might have been wrong to separate Kashmiri from the Indo-Aryan language stock, and that perhaps J. Block (1934) was right in stating that Kashmiri only primordially had been Dardic and later underwent a very heavy "Indo-Ayanization." (1984:29)"

At present, then, there is a clear consensus that Kashmiri belongs to the IA hill language family. What should be noted here first is that Kashmiri and the related hill languages are listed as Dardic in most linguistic literature even today, giving an impression that they form some sort of a separate branch from Indo-Aryan. Second, Kashmiri is the only language that has a rich literary tradition dating from the thirteenth century onward (see Kachru 1981 for details) and a great bulk of Sanskrit vocabulary that has yet to be explained. The problem in our judgment clearly borders on ethnolinguistics rather than pure linguistics.

19.3 Kashmiri grammars

Edgeworth (1841) and Leech (1844) represent the earliest attempts at recording the grammars and vocabulary of Kashmiri. Pandit Icvara Kaula's *Kashmirashabdamrtam* (A Kashmiri Grammar), written in Paninian style in Sanskrit in 1879 A.D. and published in 1898, is probably the first complete descriptive grammar of Kashmiri written by any scholar. The book contains chapters on the rules of sandhi, declension of nouns, pronouns, substantive and adjective, varieties of the vocative case, concordance and composition of nouns, formation of derived nouns, and adjectives, verbs, and their conjugation. The book was translated into English by Grierson in the form of essays in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the years 1896-98. At that time, Grierson also wrote an elaborate article on the Kashmiri vowel system and laid down the foundations for his transcription. These essays and articles form a valuable reference source for Kashmiri even today. In 1911, Grierson wrote the S*tandard Manual of the Kashmiri Language*, which comprised grammar, a phrase book, and vocabulary. It was mostly meant for tourists wanting to learn Kashmiri. A brief description of the Kashmiri language is also found in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (vol. 8, part 2). Later Grierson compiled a four volume Kashmiri-English dictionary (1932) based on the material left by Icvara Kaula. Kachru (1969b) and Bhat (1980) represent more recent works on Kashmiri.

19.4 The contribution of the present grammar

Most of the studies on Kashmiri have concentrated on phonology and morphology. Unfortunately, the syntax of the language has received very little attention. For example, until recently, Kashmiri word order was supposed to be similar to English (see Grierson 1911). In reality, however, Kashmiri word order is more like Germanic and other verb-second languages. In the root clause, the finite verb may be preceded not only by the subject, as in English, but also by other clause constituents, as is the case in the verb-second languages, such as German, Dutch, and Icelandic, to name a few. Interestingly, the word order in Kashmiri differs even from these languages. For example, unlike German, Dutch and Icelandic, to name a few. Interestingly, the word order in Kashmiri differs even from these languages. For example, unlike German, Dutch and Icelandic, in Kashmiri, the clause constituents generally precede the wh-question words, shifting the verb to the third position. The constituents may also precede the verb in yes-no questions. In addition, the finite subordinate clauses show a remarkable symmetry with the root clause in all types of constructions. In this book, we have made every attempt to note the word-order variations in all aspects of the language root structures, question-word questions, imperatives, relative clauses, adverbials, and comparatives thus making extensive data available for the first time to scholars interested in comparative studies. We have also described in detail the distribution of pronominal suffixes/citics, the role of the reflexive possessive as the subject antecedent of the object self's mother loves John double case-marking in the possessive, extensive layering of causatives, and many other interesting and significant features of Kashmiri. Our book thus fills an important gap in Kashmiri grammar.

This work is primarily based on the standard dialect spoken in the Srinagar district of the Kashmir valley, where coauthor Omkar Nath Koul was a resident for many years. The data conform to the speech of many informants we know and have talked to. The vocabulary is a mixture of both Persianized and Sanskritized Kashmiri. No particular attempt is made to focus on these social differences.

19.5 Kashmiri script and transcription

Kashmiri is most commonly written in Perso-Arabic script with added diacritical marks to represent special Kashmiri sounds. It has been recognized as the official script by the Jammu and Kashmir Government. The old Sharada script, developed around tenth century, is mostly used for religious purposes by Kashmiri Pandits. The Devanagari script, with additional diacritics, is mostly used by Kashmiri Hindus for writing Kashmiri literature. The transcription scheme used in this volume is based on the one employed by Kachru (1974), Koul (1977, 1987), and Bhat (1987), and Bhat (1987) and is elaborated on in the chapter on phonology.

Finally, we must add that though at present Kashmir is in great political turmoil, we hope the turmoil will be over soon so that the scholars can once again visit Kashmir and pursue various aspects of this unique and fascinating language.

This is an excerpt from, "A Cognitive descriptive Grammar" by Kashi Wali and Omkar N. Koul, 1997. pgs. xiii xix

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20 Origin of Kashmiri Language / A New View Point

Arjan Dev Majboor

Each and every scholar maintains that Kashmiri is one of the ancient languages of India. Its peculiar pronunciation of some alphabets, its structure and a vast vocabulary are testimony to the above fact. Due to its linguistic patterns and literary works many European scholars have done a lot of research work on this language and various genres of its literature.

The survey of Northern Indian Languages done by George Abraham Grierson included Kashmiri into his work and gave his full volume No-8 to explain the origin and development of this language. He concluded that Shina of Dardic-group of languages is the origin of Kashmiri. Some scholars said that the Hebrew is the origin of this ancient language. But it did not cut the ice. The research continued on; Dr. T.N. Ganjoo Head of the Dept. of Hindi, Kashmir University, some twenty year back in his Departmental Journal said that the Sanskrit is the origin of Kashmiri and he dedicated the whole Journal to this issue. Later , after some time his book on the same subject came to the market. This book gives a detailed account of the evolution of this language and proves the view point of the author of various tables and examples.

After Independence the research work on various Indian Languages was taken into hand. Due to introduction of Linguistics some Universities did a commendable job in this direction. Central Institute of Indian Languages Mysore (Karnataka) along with its regional centres helped various writers of Indian Languages to publish their research works besides the books published by the C.I.I.L. Though a good number of books were published by the Kashmiri writers and the Academy of Art, Culture and Languages besides books and translations published by the Sahitya Academy New Delhi, very little work was done on the origin-aspect of this language. Research is a continuous process & with this new facts come to light. The historic-research in a language brings forth many facts about the civilization of certain area and some time, earlier view-points need a change. This article is being written in keeping this fact in view.

The new researches include Dravidian group of languages, Vedic, Prakrit, Sanskrit etc. Dr. Rambilas Sharma a well-known critic said that though G. Abraham Grierson did a lot of work about Indian languages, but taking into consideration the present development of linguistic science, his work is not sufficient and more is needed to be done in this direction. One important question raised by some scholars is that Aryans did not come from outside but they were the real inhabitants of India. This controversy is on and both sides try to establish the fact with historic and pre-historic facts.

As regards Dravidians, Hunger Ford Holdic in his work-India says, that Dravidians have come from outside India. He says

"There is no doubt that Dravids entered Balochistan prior to Aryans. They went forth from Balochistan to rehabilitate themselves in the South of India. 'Holdic' names them as "Toorani" He further says that Dravids came from the green lands of Mesopotamia and Persian Hilly areas, in groups and entered the territory of India.".

According to Kalhan's Rajtarangini some Dravid Brahmins were settled at Sempora when Raja Jaya Simha (1128-1149) ruled over Kashmir. This place is on the bank of Vitasta and it is said that this village is the birth place of great Lallashwari. Prior to this, says Raja Tarangini, that Dravids lived in Sidha Khetra. The place has not been identified.

According to Grierson, Maxmuller, Suniti Baboo and Dharmendra Verma the evolution of Indian Languages goes like this :

1. Lokik Sanskrit from Vedic Sanskrit

2. Prakrit from Lokik Sanskrit

3. Apabhramsha from Prakrit

4. Some Modern Indian (languages like; Marathi, Gujrati, Bangla, Hindi etc. from Prakrit.

But Nemi Chandra Shastri, quoting Dr Jain explains the development as below :

"The Prakrita, evolved from Ancient Aryan Bhasha Chhaandas. The Lokik Sanskrit also has its' roots in 'Chhandas'."

Taking this into consideration Prakrit and Sanskrit; both are sister languages and their origin is the same.

Sh. Venkatesh Ketkar has done a remarkable work on Indian Languages. According to his research Prakrit was in common use in the time of Mahabharata. The Prakrita of the primary age was not much different than Sanskrit.

It is a fact that the relation of Prakrit and Sanskrit is historically analysed, but the importance of Prakrita has not been fully explained. Ketkar takes Indian History to the Age of Mahabharata and he gets his research work 'Ancient Maharashtra' to the period of Saatvahanas. Ketkar says that even the great Grammarian Panini, when taking Vedic Sooktaas into consideration maintains the form of Prakrita as different. He does not see that Prakrita originated from Sanskrita.

Taking these facts into consideration famous Researcher Dr. Raj Mal Bora says, that we should think over Aryan and Dravidian Languages while keeping Prakrit into the midst of these two language groups. He maintains that there is no doubt that the area of Sanskrit language is the whole Bharata, as the Sanskrit is written in the same form, from Kashmir to Kerala. But on the other side the Geographic Areas of Prakrit language have been denoted in the whole of India. It is also possible that some Prakrits must have been extinct giving their place to new modern Indian Languages.

Pishachi is one of the important Prakrits. This has been named as GandharaPrakrit also. Panini, belonged to Shalatur near Peshavar and in his times the forms of Prakritas were in common use. Panini's age comes prior to Gautam Buddha. One more renowned Grammarian Patanjali came into prominence after Mauriya Rule. The period between these two Grammar Scholars is the age of the progress of Prakritas.

According to Dr. Raj Mal Bora the formation of Prakritas with Vedic-Sanskrit is Pishachi. Thus Vedic and Paishachi seem reflection of each other.

Ketkar says that "Mag" have ruled Peshavar in the olden times and it seems that 'Peshawar' word is related to Pishachi.

Dr. Ram Bilas Sharma, says that Pishach means 'Pishang' and it indicates brown or yellow colour. The great lexican 'Sayin' says that it means "*hiraneya*" or yellow. "Pish" in Sanskrit has been used as beautification. It has been used in the same meaning by the languages of Indo-European Group. "Pish", also means raw flesh. In Atharva Veda "Pishach" word has been used along with 'Gandharvas' and 'Apsaras'. Pishach have been living in North-Western India. According to Neelmat Purana the field of activity of 'Pishachas' has remained in Himachal & Kashmir. Kalhana mentions Pishachak pura in his work. A hill named Pishachaka is near the famous 'Meeru' mountain. Kabera, who was the king of Pishachas lived in a palace situated at 'Pishachka' hill. Neelmata clearly mentions of Kubera and gives a detailed account of how Raja Neel of Nagas with the help of Chandra Dev ended the enemosity between Nagas & Pishachas and the "Gad Batta" (Fish and rice), Khechi mavas (The auspicious day when all K.Ps., prepare "khich di" at their homes) are celebrated even today and these remind us of Nagas, Pishachas & Yakhshas.

In Pishachi Prakrita 'Magdhi', 'Ardha Magdhi' and 'Shorseni' are eminent. Ram Sarman and Markandeya mention eleven Pishachi Prakritas in the following Saloka

<verse>

Kancheya Desha, Pandeya, Panchala, Gowda, Magdhi, Vrachad, Dakhshinateya, Shorseni, Kykeya, Shabar and Dravid, are the eleven Pishachi Prakrits.

The 'Pishachi' of Kykeya was taken as the standard Pishachi. In the period of Panini, the forms of 'Magdhi', 'Ardha Magdhi', Shorsaini and Maharashtri Prakritas were in vogue. This shows that the branches of Pishachi had spread from Peshawar to Sri-Lanka.

P.C. Bagchi mentions Kashmirikas in Choolika Pishachi. This fact is also supported by China-Sanskrit vocabulary. A scholar Lakhshmi Dhar mentions eleven Pishach areas as below :

"Kekeya, Balahika, Sahya, Nepal, Kuntal, Gandhar, Sudes, Bhot, Haiva and Kanojana"

According to Neelmat Purana Pishachas earlier lived for six months in Kashmir and later they began to live with Nagas peacefully and settled in some areas of the valley.

These facts indicate that the real origin of Kashmiri language was Pishachi, which was an important language of the whole country. It was due to this that Gunadeya wrote Seven Lac Salokas in this very language. This book called Brihat-Katha was used by Brahmins at Bhori-Kadal (Srinagar) for prediction of future in the year 1936. I was a sixth class student at that time.

Due to the ignorance of the King of Patliputra, Gunadeya did not receive any appreciation from the king and burnt six lac salokas in fire in a forest. Som Deva, a famous Sanskrit Scholar translated the stories of Gunadeya into Sanskrit under the title of Katha-Sarit-Sagar (The sea of stories). This famous book gives a complete picture of the ancient India especially its economic and social conditions. Som Deva was also a scholar in Pishachi. This shows that Pishachi was a language of eminence during this period.

According to the footnote given by Sh. R.S. Pandit in his translation of Raj Tarangini of Kalhana, Khemindra, a famous Sanskrit Scholar & poet of Kashmir tells that he was the first person to render into Sanskrit the work of Gunadeya The "Brihat Katha", which was in Pishachi. This work composed in ancient Pushto in the first century of Cr. Era must have rivalled the Maha Bharata as it is stated to have consisted of one lac Salokas. Bhatta Som Deva a younger contemporary of Khemindra, translated into Sanskrit Gunadev's work at the request of Suryamati, who became a 'Sati' in 1801. Which is now famous as Katha-Sarit Sagara, translated into numerous modern languages.

While writing this article I came to know that Professor Sateya Bhama Razdan (Linguistic Dept. of Kashmir University) has published her book-Kashmiri Grammar History and Structure, and she too has been working on the Pishachi Kashmiri theme. This book is really a new addition to the topic of this article. She has given the origin and the structure of Kashmiri language in detail. Her opinion is based on theoretical as well as the practical aspects of this issue.

This new book is an approach to go deeper with a new zeal towards the origin of Kashmiri language. She has compared both Pishachi & Kashmiri and I hope that linguistic scholars will evaluate her work, giving their opinion about this important work.

I have also requested Dr. Raj Mal Bhora a famous scholar of Indian Languages to write a detailed article on the origin of Kashmiri language. I hope that his article will also be of importance to know the origin of a language which is one of the important ancient languages of our country.

The author is one of the renowned poets of Kashmir; a Sahitya Academy award winner. His recent book of poems, "Waves Vol. II", was published by Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta.

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21 Kashmiri Language : An Encyclopaedic Overview

Dr. B. K. Moza

The present day researches leave no doubts about the Indo-Aryan origin of Kashmiri language and its roots in Vedic Sanskrit. Despite inconclusive and contrary hypothesis, put forward by Grierson and subsequently also presumed to some extent by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the original researches carried out by S.K. Toshkhani had unambiguously established the above contention that is now being upheld undisputedly. However, there have been, in between, many conflicting assumptions. These could be because of the fast expanding horizons of linguistics and its developments based on certain set parameters and specialized considerations, which led to some conflicting observations about the origin of this language. This became convenient to the political climate of Kashmir prevailing at that time and, therefore, reality remained disputed. However, the emerging intricacies required further detailed investigations linguistically and otherwise. And these have become an interesting area of research, from various points of view, for some time. During the intervening period, however, the origin of Kashmiri language, therefore, remained a grey area for drawing any definite conclusions. Separately, the up to date views of the recognized linguists and distinguished authorities on this subject, have been presented in this publication; many of these experts are, naturally, of Kashmiri origin. In this paper, courtesy the authorities of respective Encyclopaedia, very pertinent information as documented in these reference compendia are presented. These duly endorse the Indo-Aryan origin and Vedic connection of this language. What emerge of vital importance, in this connection are the views of some classical historians about the basis of Dardistan, Dardic languages and, as such, Kashmiri language. These, not having been mentioned by others with this historical detail, called for presentation of these independent and authoritative references as quoted below :

The New Encyclopaedia (1994, vol. 3, Pg. 884) throws light as follows, "Dardic languages also called Dard, Pisacha or Pisaca languages is a group of closely related Indo-Iranian languages, spoken in Pakistan, Kashmir and Afghanistan. They are often divided into three subgroups, Kafir or Western; Khowari or Central (spoken in the Chitral dist. of N.W Pakistan) and the Eastern group which includes Shina and Kashmiri (Some scholars use the term Dardic to refer only to the Eastern subgroup of languages and use the name Pisaca to refer to the group as a whole). The exact position of the Dardic languages within the Indo-Iranian languages' family has been a matter of dispute among scholars. Some scholars believe these languages to stem from an undifferentiated stage of Indo-Iranian; others believe the Eastern and Khowari groups to be Indo-Aryan with the Kafir sub-group being separate.

Kashmiri is the only Dardic language that has been used extensively for literary purposes. Except for Shina, the languages of the eastern sub-group have been radically changed by the influence of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken further south. The Dardic languages differ from the other Indo-Iranian languages in their sound systems and in the preservation of a number of words lost in India and Iran after the time of Vedic Sanskrit.

Dardistan: region inhabited by the so-called Dard peoples in the north of Pakistan and northern Kashmir. It includes Chitral, the upper reaches of the Panjkora river, the Kohistan (highland) of Swat and the upper portions of the Gilgit Agency. Mentioned by the classical historians Pliny the Elder, Ptolemy and Herodotus, the Dard (Daradae, Daradrae or Derdae) are said to be the people of Aryan origin who ascended the Indus Valley from the Punjab plains, reaching as far north as Chitral. They were converted to Islam in the 14th century and speak three distinct dialects of Gilgit; Khowari, Burushaski and Shina employing the Persian script in writing."

This Encyclopaedia refers to Kashmiri (1994, vol. 6, Pg. 756) as "language spoken in the vale of Kashmir and the surrounding hills, by origin it is a Dardic language but it has become predominantly Indo-Aryan in character, reflecting the history of the area, the Kashmiri vocabulary is mixed containing Dardic, Sanskrit, Panjabi and Persian elements. Religious differences are evident in vocabulary and choice of alphabet. Muslims employ Persian and Arabic words freely; they also use the Persian form of the alphabet to write Kashmiri, although the Persian alphabet is not truly suited to the task because it lacks symbols for

the many Kashmiri vowel sounds. The majority of educated Kashmiris are Hindus; they favour words derived from Sanskrit and write Kashmiri in the Sarda alphabet a script of Indian origin. In printed books the Devnagri character is used."

The Encyclopaedia of Languages includes a detailed write up on Kashmiri language contributed by Prof. B.B. Kachru. This is not referred herein as there is a separate article included in this publication, contributed by Prof. Kachru, specially written for this publication, which throws light on this subject in detail.

M.B. Emeneau, documents in Collier's Encyclopaedia (1986, Vol 7, Pg 716) that, "Dardic languages is a group of languages spoken in Kashmir and in the area to the north and north west as far as the Hindu Kush mountains in Afghanistan. The languages are subdivided into 1) the Kafir Group Bashgali, Waigali, Prasun, Ashkund, Klasha, Pahari, Diri and Tirahi. 2) Khowar and 3) the Dard language proper Shina, Kashmiri, Kohistani. With the exception of Kashmir they are spoken in very rugged, mountainous areas by small groups of people. Except for Kashmiri, comparatively little is known, in detail, about the languages of the group because of the inaccessibility of native speakers.

Early in this century Sir George Grierson, the editor of the Linguistic Survey of India, put forward the theory that the group was to be regarded as a third section of the Indo-Iranian subfamily coordinate with Indo-Aryan and Iranian. New material, however, was gathered in the 1920 by the Norwegian scholar George Morgenstierne. On the basis of this, he proved that all the languages show Indo features. Most of the features peculiar to the group on which Grierson had relied in forming his theory are what would be expected if these languages had descended from old Indo-Aryan dialects, closely akin to Vedic and had shared in the development, of the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects from which the other modern, pro-Aryan languages (Hindi, Marathi, etc) have descended. Never the less, the Kafir group retains traces of phonology which may put it outside both Iranian and Indo-Aryan as a third language group. The most plausible theory is that prior to the invasion of India by Indo-Aryan speakers, the ancestors of the Kafir tribes occupied their present area and their languages developed there independently except for heavy borrowings from both Indo-Aryan and Iranian."

Again the above mentioned learned scholar refers in this Encyclopaedia (1986, Vol. 13, Pgs. 758-9) that, "Kashmiri is a Dardic language of Indo-Aryan origin. The Dardic core of Kashmiri is a language which has descended from an old Indo-Aryan dialect closely related to Vedic without having shared in the middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) developments that have yielded the peculiarities of most of the modern Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi, Marathi etc.). One Dardic feature is the failure of some consonant clusters to simplify as in the Prakrit and the languages derived from them e.g., Kashmiri, *treh*, "three" contrasts with Hindi, *tin* (Sanskrit *trim*). For many centuries however, there has been a strong Sanskritic influence in Kashmir, whose Brahmins have been known for their Sanskrit learning; the Kashmiri language has borrowed many Sanskrit words so that it is now strongly, "Indianized".

In general Kashmiri grammar is very much like that of the other Indo-Aryan vernaculars. One peculiarity is the occurrence of three past participles (instead of one) from which past tenses are formed denoting recent past, remote past, and indefinite past.

Kashmiri shares with the other Dardic languages and with Lahnda and Sindhi the use of pronominal suffixes as subjects of certain verb forms and as objects and other oblique cases which with verbs in general e.g., "*dim*" "give it to me" and "*wuchunam*", "they will see me", "where-m and -am represent the first person. It seems that such forms are survivals of the enclitic pronouns of old Indo-Aryan. They have been lost in modern Indo-Aryan except in these languages which, are in contact with and influenced by the Iranian languages, all of, which show pronominal, suffix system of even greater complexity than those found in Kashmiri and its neighbours.

The Kashmiri Brahmins are famous for their devotion to Sanskrit literature and their production of Sanskrit works of importance. This literary activity has carried over into the composition of works in Kashmiri also, from the 14th century onwards. The earliest work is the collection of verses in praise of the God Siva (Shiva) by the poetess Lalla, the Lallawakyani. Numerous Hindi religious works have been

composed down to the present day. There have also been Muslim works based on Persian models. A Sanskrit work of some interest is a grammar of Kashmiri, the *Kasmira-sabdamvta*, composed by Iswara Kaula at the end of the 19th century.

The Kashmiri language is written by Muslims in Persian characters, which are ill suited for the purpose since their rudimentary vowel-signs fail to represent the complicated Kashmiri vowel system. Hindus used the Sarda alphabet, the local characters related to the Devnagri alphabet of India."

The above details documented in and quoted from various Encyclopaedia and contributed by non-Kashmiri authors, provide independent, authoritative and present day view on the origin and subsequent developments of Kashmiri language. Reportedly, there is a lot of dis-information in circulation about the origin of this language. The purpose of giving above details, besides the objectives of bringing about awareness and awakening about the origin of Kashmiri language, is to arrest this misinformation and provide established facts on this subject. The historical genesis of "Dard" and such origin of the people speaking this language, being rooted in Aryan stock that had migrated from Panjab plains, further clarifies the controversies and establishes the Indo-Aryan and Vedic origin of Kashmiri language.

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22 Kashmiri Literature

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee

Kashmiri is one of the Aryan languages of the Union of India, and it is an interesting and important language in many ways, although the number of people speaking it is not very large near about 1 $^{1/2}$ millions only. In the first instance, Kashmiri has a fine literature, particularly rich in little lyrics of life and nature, besides compositions in the mystic vein both Brahmanical (Sivite) and Islamic (Sufi). It has got a large number of long poems, both of Sanskrit and of Persian inspiration, and there is in present-day Kashmiri quite a note -worthy literary upsurge.

As a language, Kashmiri, at least in its basic stratum, belongs to the Dardic Section of Aryan or Indo-Iranian. Possibly one section of the Aryans who came to India before 1000 B.C. and who spoke dialects very much like the language of the Rig-Veda but with certain special characteristics (which later gave rise to the Dardic branch of Aryan) became established in the valley of Kashmir, and in the surrounding mountainous tracts; and very early, possibly from after the Vedic Age, Brahmanical Aryans with their Indo-Aryan 'spoken' Sanskrit (and subsequently with the Prakrits) came and settled in Kashmir and other Himalayan areas. Following the Brahmans, the Buddhists also came to Kashmir, and Kashmir formed a part of the Maurya Empire of Asoka; and beyond Kashmir, speakers of the Indo-Aryan dialect from North-Western India settled round about what is now Khotan (*Kustana* in Sanskrit). In this way, Kashmir, inspite of a Dardic substratum in its people and in its speech, became a part of the Sanskritic culture world of India. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhramsa from the Midland and from Northern Panjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri, so that one might say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements.

Throughout the entire part of the first thousand years after Christ, Kashmir was within the orbit of Sanskrit, and Kashmiri scholars, particularly during the second half of these thousand years, made their important contributions to Sanskrit literature; and the names of Damodara, Abhinavagupta, Kalhana, Bilhana and others are pre-eminent in the history of Sanskrit literature. Kashmir also developed its *Trika* System of Saiva Tantric philosophy, which had points of contact with th Saiva Siddhanta of the Tamil land, far away in the South.

It is presumed that, before the development of the Kashmiri language proper (which, as in the case of the other Aryan Languages of India, took place after 1000 A.D.), there were a Prakrit and an Apabhramsa stage of Kashmiri. But there are no specimens of what may be called a Kashmiri Prakrit and a Kashmiri Apabhramsa. Only half a line in three words of what may be described as Kashmiri Apabhramsa has been found in Kalhana's Sanskrit History of Kashmir, the Rajatarangini, and this half a line goes back to the first half of the 10th century A.D. It runs thus : *Rangassa Helu dinna* (or *dinnu*), "the village of helu has been given to Ranga", and this in modern Kashmiri would be *Rangas Hyulu dyunu.*

The early history of Kashmiri as a language, together with a study of its literature, has not yet been fully taken up. In this connexion we have to mention specially the pioneer work of Sir George Abraham Grierson; and one or two Kashmiri scholars of eminence, like Professor Prithwinath Pushp (Posh), are now collecting materials and initiating a proper study. The history of Kashmiri literature, as of the language, may be divided into the following three periods, paralleling what we have in most other languages of India, both Aryan and Dravidian :

(1) Old Kashmiri, from 1200 to 1500 A.D.

(2) Middle Kashmiri, from 1500 to 1800 A.D.

(3) New or Modern Kashmiri, after 1800 A.D.

Old Kashmiri presented a language with a very full phonetic character, but from Middle Kashmiri times there were some very extensive vowel-changes, through Umlaut and other sound-laws being operative, which changed the nature of Old Kashmiri and made it almost a different language.

Prior to the Old Kashmiri period, we have evidence of Indo-Aryan Prakrit and Apabhramsa both being used for literary compositions by Kashmiri scholars, side by side with Sanskrit. Thus there is a work in

Sanskrit by the great Sanskrit scholar, Abhinava-gupta (c. 950 to 1025 A.D.), the Tantra-sara, in which at the end of each verse section (Ahnika), there are two verses in some kind of Apabhramsa we have 76 verses in all in this language, but it does not show any specific Kashmiri character. Then, again, there is another work known as the Mahartha-manjari by Goraksa-natha alias Maheswarananda, which consits of 71 distichs in Prakrit (it is not the language of Kashmir but is Maharastr Prakrit), and this work has been found in two recensions both of which have been published, one from Srinagar in Kashmir and the other from Trivandrum in Kerala. This work in all likelihood belongs to a period before 1200 A.D. and may be immediately after Abhinava-gupta. Works like these show the presence of a strong tradition of composing in Indo-Aryan Prakrit and Apabhramsa in Kashmir of a thousand or 800 years ago.

22.1 Old Kashmiri : 1200-1500 A.D.

The earliest compositions so far available in Kashmiri would appear to be the 94 four-line stanzas found in a Sanskrit work called the Mahanaya-praka'sa ('Illumination of the Highest Attainment or Discipline') by Sitikantha Acarya.

Grierson, following a Kashmiri scholar, thought that this work belonged to the fourth quarter of the 15th century; but a closer study of the subject-matter as well as the language, with some internal evidence from the name and the title of the author, will go to show that the work is much older. The subject-matter of these verses is highly abstruse, dealing with the Saiva Tantric philosophy as current in Kashmir as its most popular faith, and it belongs to the period of religion and thought of the times of Abhinava-gupta and his followers. Without a commentary it will not be possible to understand the inner meaning of the verses. Grierson made a linguistic study of these 94 stanzas, but still much remains to be done. It is easy to see that the language here is something very archaic when compared with Modern Kashmiri it is like Old English (or Anglo-Saxon) beside Modern English. It is even more ancient than the language of the poems of Lalla Didi of the 14th century as preserved in old manuscripts. The position of these verses in the history of the Kashmiri language is analogous to that of the Carya-padas in Old Bengali. Prof. Pushp, who agrees that the work may go back to the 13th century, or even earlier, has discovered another work of unknown date, the *Chumma-Sampradaya*, giving 74 verses, which in their language and in their subject-matter also belong to the age of the *Mahanaya prakasa.*

These two works give us the oldest specimens of Kashmiri, and they in all likelihood belong to a period before 1300. Next we are on slightly surer ground with regard to the author. In the 14th century, we have in Kashmir a great Sivite woman-saint, Lalla Didi or Lal Ded, whose compositions, in a modern Kashmiri form, are in the mouths of all Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, and they represent the oldest specimens of Kashmiri which still have been continued down to our times by oral tradition. Lalla Didi was born in 1335 A.D. during the rule of the last Hindu King of Kashmir, Udayana-deva, and she passed away sometime between 1383 and 1386. She had a very unhappy married life, neglected by her hasband and ill-treated by her mother-in-law, and she became a ***Sannyasini***, moving about the country, and singing her little poems of mystic perception of Siva, the Supreme. It is said that she met Shah Hamdani who was the first great Sufi saint and preacher of Islam in Kashmir, and they were both mutually appreciative of each other's mystic qualities. The Kashmir Muslims consider her to have been converted to Islam by this contact with Shah Hamdani, and she is described as lal '***Arifa***, and the Hindus called her ***Lalla Yogisvari***. Some 110 poems of this type by Lalla have been edited and translated by Sir George Abraham Grierson (Royal Asiatic Society of London, 1923), and some more have been collected by others.

During the second period of Old Kashmiri, from after Lalla's time to 1500 A.D., we have another great mystic poet in Kashmir, a Muslim saint named Shah Nuruddin, or as he is called by the Hindus, Nand Ryosh or Nanda Rishi. He was born in 1377 and passed away in 1440. Nuruddin is held in great respect by both Hindus and Muslims, and he became a sort of a patron-saint for Kashmiri Muslims. His verses and sayings known as ***Sruks*** give statement to his profound faith in and love for God, and his catholicity of outlook; and they are also, besides, didactic in their nature. These verses have been collected in the form of a book called the Rishi-namah or Nur-namah. A good proportion of this collection is perhaps spurious.

During the greater part of 15th century, Kashmir was fortunate in having one of the most enlightened men of his age as her ruler. He was Zainul Abidin, who was born in 1401, and ruled Kashmir from 1420 to 1470. He was of native Kashmiri origin, and he was a great administrator and patron of arts and letters as well as a man of singularly progressive and benevolent ideas, to whom Kashmir owed a great deal of her prosperity during mediareview times. He himself knew both Sanskrit and Persian, and encouraged the Hindu religion in its philosophy and its rituals, and repaired Hindu shrines. The artistic crafts of Kashmir were fully developed by him, and their fame spread outside Kashmir. He gathered round him a number of poets and writers in both Persian and Sanskrit as well as in Kashmiri. We can make mention of the following Kashmiri poets who adorned his court: Uttha-soma, who composed a series of lyrics in Kashmiri, besides a biography of Zainul Abidin, and a treatise on music called the *Manaka*; an unknown poet who wrote the *Banasura-vadha*, the first narrative poem so far known in Kashmiri; Yodha-bhatta, who wrote a biography of his patron, the *Jaina-prakasa*; and there was also Bhatta-avatara who was a distinguished Persian scholar and who composed another work on this royal patron of letters, in Kashmiri, the *Jaina-vilasa*. These biographical and panegyrical works in Kashmiri now appear to have been lost. Zainul Abidin anticipated Emperor Akbar in many ways. The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, which gives the history of Kashmir upto 1150 A.D., was continued by two Sanskrit scholars under the inspiration of King Zainul Abidin. The Sanskrit *Mahabharata* was adapted into Persian for the first time by *Mulla Ahmad*, who also translated the *Raja-tarangini* of Kalhana into Persian; and Pandit Srivara similarly adapted the Persian poet *Jami's* romantic poem *Yusuf-Zulaikha* into Sanskrit.

The 15th century in this way saw the transformation of the Kashmiri people, in an atmosphere of Sufi-istic Islam which was not at all iconoclastic but was appreciative of the current Brahmanical Saiva mysticism of Kashmir, into a predominantly Muslim people. The language, as it can be expected, began to undergo very great changes during this first period of Kashmiri literature, and was moving towards Modern Kashmiri.

22.2 Middle Kashmiri Period : 1500 to 1800 A.D.

This period roughly falls into three stages. We have the period of Kashmiri Sultans upto 1586 A.D., when Kashmir came under the Moguls, being conquered by Akbar. During the first half of the 16th century Kashmir was ruled by the kings of Zainul Abidin's family; and from 1555, four Muslim Sultans of Chak dynasty ruled over Kashmir, upto 1586. From 1586 to 1748, we have the Mogul period in the mediareview history of Kashmir. Finally, from 1748, when Kashmir was conquered by the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali, we have the Afghan period of Kashmir, which came down to about 1820. By that time the modern period started in Kashmir.

During the Middle Kashmiri period, we have the continued development of the Kashmiri language and its literature, and it came very largely under the umbrage of Persian. Persian replaced for the masses of the Kashmiri people the Sanskrit language, and the Muslim religion also became fully established, but the tendency to bring about a harmony of Hindu thought and Sufism continued, both among the upper classes and among the masses.

In the 16th century a very remarkable poetess came into the field of Kashmiri literature. She was Hubb Khatun, or as she is popularly known among the present-day Kashmiris, Habba Khotun. She was a village girl of great beauty and poetic sensibility, whose original name was Zun ("Moon-Light" Prakrit *Jonh*a, Sanskrit *Jyotsna*). Married to an ordinary villager, uneducated and uncultured, who did not appreciate her talent, her life was very unhappy, and she had also a mother-in-law who constantly bullied her. But she had some education in Persian, and she was a talented singer with a beautiful voice; besides, she could compose popular lyrics in Kashmiri known as Lol ("Songs of Yearning"). King Yusuf Shah Chak of Kashmir (1579 to 1586) saw her in her native place and was captivated by her, and the King married Habba Khotun after getting her divorced from her husband. Her new name in Arabic, *Hubb*, meant "Love". She had only a few years of happy married life with her royal husband. But, after the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar, King Yusuf Shah was taken away from Kashmir and was never allowed to return. Habba Khotun had to pass the rest of her life in separation from her beloved husband, for 20 years, living

virtually like a hermitess. She died about the age of 55. Habba Khotun is one of the most popular poetesses of Kashmiri, and her place as a writer of exquisite lyrics of love and life is in the forefront of Kashmiri literature. In Kashmiri literature, these are three eminent poetesses who are the glory not only of Kashmiri literature but of Indian literature as well : they are Lal Ded of the 14th century, Habba Khotun of the 16th century, and finally Arani-mal of the second half of the 18th century.

Among the more important writers of Kashmiri during the Mogul andAfghan periods, mention may be made of the following :

Khawajah Habibullah Naushahri, who died in 1617, wrote a series of beautiful lyric poems in Kashmiri.

The Hindu poet Sahib Kaul, who lived during the time of Jahangir, wrote the *Krsna-avatara* and the *Janam-Carita*, both on Hindu Puranic themes;

The poetess Rupa-bhavani (1624-1720) wrote a number of religious poems : her language, as that of a Hindu religious writer, was highly Sanskritized;

Mulla Fakhir, who died about the close of the 18th century, composed songs and odes.

We have to mention specially the third great Kashmiri writer of love-lyrics, Arani-mal (the name means 'a Garland of yellow Roses'). She lived during the second half of the 18th century. She was the wife of a Kashmiri Brahman named Munshi Bhavanidas Kachru who was a distinguished Persian scholar and author. Arani-mal's married life was unhappy, as in the case of Lal Ded and Habba Khotun. She was deserted by her husband because of his love for other women. The unhappy wife poured forth her heart in a series of most poignant and at the same time most exquisite poems of love in Kashmiri which are among the most popular and most universal compositions in the language. Arani-mal spent her life of frustration in composing her beautiful poems on love and on the beauty of nature. Her little lyrics, whith their *abandon* and profound yearning for her husband, and charming imagery and lovely language redolent with the beauty and the fragrance of flowers, conform with similar lyrics of Habba Khotun (and with a few others from other poets of Kashmiri), and form some of the most exquisite flowers in the garden of Indian poetry which are comparable with the finest lovepoems in any language.

In the 18th century, there was another great Hindu poet in Kashmiri, Prakasa-rama (also known as Divakara-Prakasa Bhatta) who was a contemporary with Raja Sukh-jiwan Mall, a Hindu Nazir or Governor of Kashmir under the Afghans about 1760. Prakasa-rama wrote the *Ramayan*a in Kashmiri, known as the *Ramavatara-carita*, with a sequel *Lava-Kusa-Yuddha Carita*. (This work has been edited in Roman transliteration with an English summary by Sir George Abraham Grierson, and published from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1930; and it was first published from Srinagar in Persian characters in 1910). It consists of 1786 stanzas, some in the two-line *Persian Hazaj* metre and the rest in the native four-line accented metre of Kashmiri.

Mir Abdullah Baihaqi (died 1807) composed a volume of poems known as *Koshir-'Aqa'id* (a narrative *masnavi*), besides a religious poem, the *Mukhtasar-Waqayah*.

Another Hindu poet of this period, who wrote during the early years of 19th century, was Ganga-Prasad, who composed a religious work in Kashmiri verse the *Samsara-maya-mohajala-sukha-duhkha-carita* (or "the Account of the Joys and Sorrows of this World of Illusion and Net of Infatuation.")

During the 18th century and the earlier part of the 19th century, a number of Kashmiri poets wrote in imitation of Persian narrative poems, and also adapted many of the Persian classics into Kashmiri. In this way, the Arabic and Persian love stories, like those of Yusuf-Zulaikha, Khusrau-Shirin and Laila Majnun became completely accepted and naturalized in the literature of Kashmir. Some popular romantic stories from the Panjab also became the common property of the masses in Kashmir.

22.3 Modern Kashmiri Literature : after 1800 A.D.

In 1819 the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh of Lahore conquered Kashmir from the Afghans and ended Afghan rule which had begun from 1748. This whole period of Afghan domination was one of nightmare for the Kashmiri people, as the Afghan governors from Kabul came only to plunder and ill-treat the unfortunate people. The intervention of the Sikhs from the Panjab who had grown into a strong power was sought by

many people in Kashmir, particularly the Hindus, and Kashmir became a part of the Sikh State, being administered by governors from Lahore upto the year 1848.

This linking up of Srinagar with Lahore brought in immediately a reorientation of Kashmir towards India, like what existed in the pre-Muslim periods and also under the Moguls. The Persian language continued its influence as before on Kashmiri, as Persian was also the official language with the Sikhs. In 1848 Jammu and Kashmir became one State under the rule of the Dogra Rajput dynasty from Jammu, and in many respects the Hindus of Kashmir now came to be in a better situation than before.

Through the strong influence of Persian during all these centuries from the 1500 onwards, Kashmiri had developed a quantitative meter in the Persian style, side by side with the native Kashmiri meter of strong stresses which still characterizes popular poetry. In vocabulary, in the common epithets and in phrases and imageries, the Kashmiri language, like Urdu in India, came entirely under the spell of Persian; but Kashmiri nevertheless preserved a good deal of its native character.

The modern period for Kashmiri begins from the beginning of the 19th century, with the establishment of the Sikh rule. Gradually influences of Urdu and then English came to have their play in the evolution of Kashmiri literature, and new ideas and new styles in thought and letters became slowly established.

The Modern Period of Kashmiri literature has been divided into three sub-periods or stages (by Professor Jialal Kaul) as follows :

(a) The First Stage roughly from 1800 to 1880 (or, rather from 1819 to 1879). This was dominated by the Muslim poet Mahmud Gami who died in 1855, and by the Hindu poet Paramanand who died in 1879. This may be described as something like a "Classic Age" for Modern Kashmiri, and a number of fine works under Persian as well as Sanskrit inspiration and influence were composed by poets, both Hindu and Muslim, who are held in general esteem as masters of modern Kashmiri literature during the 19th century.

(b) The Second Stage, from 1880 to 1913, ended with the death of one of the great poets of Modern Kashmiri, Wahhab Pare. This Stage was comparatively barren in literature, but the influence of English and Urdu came in. European scholars like Karl Friedrich Burkhard and Sir George Abraham Grierson began an intensive study of the Kashmiri language, in both describing it fully and treating it historically. Both these scholars published a number of important Kashmiri texts Grierson published four classics of Kashmiri by Hindu writers, and Burkhard brought out an edition of Mahmud Gami's romantic poem of *Yusuf-Zulaikha*. Then through modern education, the Kashmiri intelligentsia (particularly among the Kashmiri Brahmans) became once more alive to the beauties of their mother-tongue. But Kashmiri was suffering (and is still suffering) from a great handicap, in not possessing a suitable alphabet it is now generally written in the Perso-Arabic script which is very unsuitable for the genius of the language, and the old Sarada alphabet, which is confined to the Kashmiri Brahmans, represents an archaic tradition in its orthography, which could not be adapted to modern times inspite of the scientific endeavours of modern scholars like I'swar Kaul and Sir George Abraham Grierson. But nevertheless, many Kashmiris finally discovered the beauty and importance of their language and its literature both in its learned compositions and in the popular songs. The main languages of the State of Jammu and Kashmir are Kashmiri, Dogri with Hindi, and Tibetan in Ladakh, but the official languages are English and Urdu, and Kashmiri in its own home is still in the background.

(c) We have the Recent Stage in the Modern Period of Kashmiri literature, from 1913 onwards.

During the First Stage of the Modern Period, Mahmud Gami was a prolific writer in Kashmiri, and wrote his fine metrical romances from the Persian like *Yusuf-wa-Zulaikha*, *Laila-Majnun* and *Khusrau-Shirin*. He was a poet endowed with a fine descriptive and narrative quality, and he was also famous as the writer of a large number of *ghazals* and other poems.

Maqbul Shah composed his *Gulrez*, a narrative poem on a love-theme borrowed from the Persian. Maqbul Shah also wrote a satirical account of Kashmir peasant-life known as the *Gurist-namah*.

Pandit Nanda-rama alias Paramananda (1719-1879) is regarded as one of the greatest poest of Kashmir. He was born in the village of Matan where he spent all his life and served as a *Patwari* or petty revenue officer. He was influenced by both Lalla and Nuruddin or Nand Rishi. Taking note of the devotional and mystic aspect of his poetic genius, the Muslim writers of Kashmir have described Paramanand as the "Sana'i of Kashmir," comparing him with the great Persian poet of that name. Under the pen-name of *Gharib*, he composed also some Persian *ghazals*, but most of his narrative poems are on themes of the Sanskrit *Purana*. His language was rather Sanskritized, treating as his poems were of the Lila or "Sports", that is the holy acts of divinities like Krishna and Siva. His bigger works are *Radha-svayamvara*, *Sudama-carita*, and the *Siva-lagan*. In this line of religious narratives, he was followed by other Hindu poets.

Paramananda's friend was Lakshman Ju. He contributed some episodes in Paramananda's big work *Radha-svayamvara*. He was also the author of *Nala-Damayanti*, which is an extensive and rather pedestrian work on the story from the *Mahabharat*a. Besides, he composed quite a large number of *ghazals* and short poems in Kashmiri.

Krishna Razdan (or Rajanaka) was another distinguished Hindu poet of this period. A disciple of Paramananda, he wrote in beautiful Kashmiri, and he is pre-eminent both in his descriptions of Nature and in the musical quality of his verse. His most important work is *Siva-parinaya* (or 'the Wedding of Siva') in 1915 four-line stanzas (edited and published from Calcutta by Sir George Abraham Grierson in 1924, in the reformed Nagar script devised for Kashmiri, with a Sanskrit *chaya* by Mm. Pandit Mukundarama Sastri).

There is another Hindu classic of Kashmiri, the *Krsnavatara Lila* (published in 1928 by Grierson from Calcutta in the Roman character with an English translation). In the work itself, the name of the author has been given as Dina-natha. But he has not been identified the author appears to have composed this poem during the first half of the 19th century.

It is in 1178 four-line stanzas, and the *Bhagavata-Purana* stories about Krishna have been beautifully treated in this poem.

Waliullah Mattu wrote a lyric romance called Himal-ta-Nagray ('Jasmine-Garland and Snake-Prince'), based on a popular Kashmiri folk- or fairy-tale, and Mattu's poem was composed probably in the late 19th century. The narrative portions are by Waliullah, and there are lyrics composed by another poet named Saifuddin Zarif. The songs and the narrative fit in very well with each other, and the work is very popular.

Abdul Wahhab Pare was another great Kashmiri writer of the Modern Period. He was born in 1845 and died in 1913. He made an adaptation from the Persian into Kashmiri of the *Shah-namah* of Firdausi, and he translated the Akbar-namah which is a historical work in Persian relating to the wars in Afghanistan. He also wrote a number of short stories, didactic as well as relating to love, and he composed large number of smaller poems on various subjects as well.

With Wahhab Pare's death, the older period of Kashmiri literature may be said to have ended. There were, however, poets in the older tradition, of whom the following names could be mentioned :

Rasul Mir, the author of a number of beautiful songs and *ghazals*; Azizullah Haqqani, a poet; and besides a number of Sufi mystic poets like Qalandar Shah, Abdul Ahad Nazim, Mohiuddin Miskin, Khwajah Akram Rahman Dar, and Maulavi Siddiqullah (died 1930) who translated the *Sikandar-namah* of the great Persian poet of the 12th century, *Nizami*.

There was also Ramazan Bath, who wrote the most popular version of the story of *Akh-nandan* or 'the only Son'. It is an old Hindu religious tale about the loving parents of an only son being compelled by a religious vow to put him to death and even cook his flesh as an offering to a religious mendicant (*Yogi*) who demanded this sacrifice. But afterwards the the son was restored to life after the parents' devotion was tested in this way. Several poets composed on this theme from the end of the 19th century. Ramazan Bath lived half a century ago, and composed near about the year 1900 this very beautiful and touching poem in simple and racy Kashmiri which has been highly praised by a well-known scholar and literary

man like Sri Nanda-lal Ambaradar. We have poems on the same theme also by Ahad Zargar, Samad Mir and Ali Wani. But Ramazan Bath's work remains the best.

Rahman Dar is the author of a very popular poem called the Mauch-Tuluir or 'Honey-Bee'. The old line of mystic tradition in poetry passed on to a number of modern mystic poets like Aziz Darvesh, Wahhab Khar and Mirza Kak.

The most recent period of Kashmiri literature was inaugurated by the poet period of Kashmiri literature was inaugurated by the poet Pirzadah Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur (born 1885), who became famous as a poet of Nationalism and National Reconstruction even before 1938 when there started a great Nationalist Movement in Kashmir. The desire for the uplift of the people now became very noticeable, in addition to the continuance of the old tradition of both mystic poetry and passionate love poetry. Mahjur has been in the forefront of Kashmir literature and language, and he can be very properly described as the inaugurator of the new trends in Kashmiri literature. His poems are lyrical and patriotic as well as on political subjects. The educated classes, along with the masses, all sing songs composed by him. The impress of the beautiful Nature of Kashmir is found in his writings. Another great contemporary Kashmiri poet and writer, Zinda Kaul, known as "Masterji", has said about majhur : "Besides being very musical and correct in the matter of the meter and rhyme, Mahjur is perhaps the first to introduce into Kashmiri the ideas of patriotism, human freedom, love of men and women, unity of Hindu and Muslim, dignity of work and respect for manual labour, and Nature, scenery, flowers, etc." His poems have been sold in a hundred thousand copies. Some of his poems describing the simple charm of the women and maidens of Kashmir are beautiful in themselves.

With Mahjur we are to mention the Hindu poet Zinda Kaul (born 1884). He is a social reformer, and is also a mystic, and he writes in popular language. One of his verse compositions, the Samran ("Remembrance") has been awarded a Sahitya Academy Prize from New Delhi in 1956. He has brought in new rime schemes and rhythm patterns in Kashmiri; and among his poems, "Ferry-man lead Thou me across" is a popular patriotic prayer.

Among other innovators in Kashmiri literature during this Stage, we may mention specially Nandalal Kaul, poet and dramatist, who wrote a number of dramas, adapting or translating from Hindi and Urdu. *Satach Kahwath* (or 'the Touch Stone of Truth'), Ramun Raj (or 'the Golden Age of Rama'), *Dayalal* and *Prahlad Bhagat* are among recent note-worthy dramas by Nandalal in Kashmiri. Mana-Ju Attar has made a Kashmiri verse translation of the *Bhagavata-Purana*. Pandit Dayaram Ganju has didactic and other poems in Kashmiri, and his little book of advice to the young people *Ghar Vyez-mal* is very popular.

Pandit Narayan Khar of Matan is another poet who has rendered into beautiful Kashmiri the *Bhagavad-Gita*. The treatment of social life and social reform is also coming into vogue in Kashmiri literature. We have also other poets like Muhammad Ghulam Hasan Begh Arif who is a man of science, a zoologist. He is a believer in the greatness of the Destiny of Man, and one of his popular poems is *Namaz-e-Janaza* or 'the Prayer for the Dead'.

The most note-worthy poets of present-day Kashmiri are, among others, the following :

Abdul Ahmad Azad; Dina-nath Nadim; Rahman Rahi, born 1925, who has been awarded the Delhi Sahitya Academy Prize in 1962 for his book of poems the *Nauroz-i-saba*, "with a wide range of form and technique", which is "remarkable for its bold experimentation in poetic technique and freshness of imagery"; Mir Kamil; Gulam Rasul Nazki; Abdul Haqq Barq; and Nur Muhammad Roshan; besides "Premi", "Majbur" and "Almast".

Western literary forms are being introduced into Kashmiri : for example, the sonnet by Dina-nath Nadim, and free verse by Kamil and several other poets. Dina-nath Nadim is a revolutionary in literature, with a sympathy for the suffering masses forcefully expressed in his writings. In a song-drama, *Bambur Yambarzal*, Nadim has treated an old folk-tale of Kashmir in a modern way dealing with modern problems. Several song-dramas or operas were written by Nur Muhammad Roshan, who, like Dina-nath Nadim and Kamil, has employed the free verse.

"Premi" has essayed the various types of Kashmiri folk-poetry in a modern style, giving a sympathetic view of the life of the people and praising the dignity of labour. Kamil is a great inspirer of the modern spirit through his various compositions.

The essay and other prose is also being developed by present-day Kashmiri writers, and some of them are also writing in English, Urdu and Hindi, in addition to Kashmiri, like Professor Jialal Kaul, Nanda-lal Ambardar and Professor Prthwinath Pushp.

Kashmiri has a very note-worthy literature of popular poetry, and the Kashmiris are a singing people. Their songs are redolent with the beauty and freshness and fragrance of the Kashmir landscape. Some of these have been published by enthusiasts of folk-lore, and here and there in travel-books and other works on Kashmir, we have specimens of these popular poems. Kashmir folk-tales have been collected and translated by foreign scholars like J. Hinto Knowles and Sir Aurel Stein. Some of the folk-tales as mentioned before are being treated in song-dramas by modern Kashmiri poets. The Kashmiri also has a sense of humour, and there are popular satirical ballads like the *Lari-shah*, which is about contemporary life, and full of humour.

The *intelligentsia* among the Kashmiris are now alive to the fine qualities of their language and its literature : and it can only be hoped that with the establishment of better conditions, with a truly secular democracy in Kashmir, further development of Kashmiri literature will be a matter of course.

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23 Requisites of Kashmirology

Prof. P. N. Pushp

Kashmir's contribution to the heritage of India has been distinct enough to permit the use of a new term, *Kashmirology*, as an important branch of *Indology*. Its importance is manifold in terms of myth and legend, custom and tradition, religion and philosophy, language and literature, art and archaeology, and socio-economic as well as political developments in this integral part of India.

But very little of this contribution has so far been adequately explored and assessed, and systematically presented in spite of the pioneering work[1] done in many a field such as historio-graphy, folk-lore philosophy and linguistics.

The first significant effort to survey, secure and preserve MSS was made in 1860-65 at the instance of Maharaja Ranbir Singh who unfortunately did not live long enough to see the important works published along with translation as planned. Later on, when the State Research Department was set up in 1902 the publication of the *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* was contemplated and more than six dozen works have appeared since. A remarkable record, no doubt, though very few of these publications meet the demands of critical and scientific editing as understood now. What one misses most in a majority of these is a thorough word-index and a revealing introduction and perhaps, critical or elucidatory notes whereever unavoidable.

Every effort has, therefore, to be made now not only to overcome shortcomings like these, but also to establish *Kashmirology* on foundations secure and more broad-based, by integrating the isolated bits of earlier research into a comprehensive whole. The emphasis, so far, has been on mere publication of MSS (mostly of religio-philosophical content), and, even the basic tasks like compilation of descriptive catalogues of MSS have all along been lying over for one reason or the other. It is high time, therefore, that these research problems are viewed in a more correlated perspective.

The problem of problems, obviously, continues to be that of salvaging rare MSS and compiling not only **Descriptive Catalogues** of the collections made (including those of art-pieces and other research material) but also S**ource-material miscellanies** on various aspects of *Kashmirology* so as to facilitate researches therein?

The problem of compiling a **Bibliography of Source-material** is no less urgent, but it presupposes a thorough (: both intensive and extensive) survey of all the source-material lying scattered in private collections as well as in the MS libraries of India and the world. Yet a humble beginning[3] has to be made with the material noticed so far or accessble with a little effort.

Parallel to this basic task of compilation runs that of bringing out critical editions of important works defectively published or lying unpublished. In this connection it is gratifying to know that the V.V. Research Institute of Hoshiarpur has undertaken to bring out a revised edition of ***Kalhana's Rajatarangini*** and critical editions of the later chronicles by **Jonaraja**, **Srivara** and **Suka**. That is surely going to fulfil a longfelt need, but equally pressing is the need of collating these chronicles with their Persian counter-parts (versions or adaptations). Such an endeavour would light up many a dark corner and fill up many a gap in the History of Kashmir. The compilation of a *Concordance* and a *Variorum* in this connection would also prove of immense help in reconstructing quite a few lost fragments of our historical narrative as well as in checking up, reconsidering and revising many inaccuracies undetected so far.

Archaeology could have helped a great deal in this endeavour, but unfortunately it has yet to play its full role in digging up the very early layers of Kashmir's historical evolution. The crest of the earth has, no doubt, been scratched at a number of places; but very little digging of the right type has so far taken place except, perhaps, at a site or two. Research scholars would, therefore, feel grateful for any future programme of scientific excavation in Kashmir (including the far flung regions which have yet to feature in a historical account of the State). Meanwhile, a new hand-book on Archaeology in Kashmir with copious illustrations is a pressing need.

The task of bringing out an **Encyclopaedia** of *Kashmirology* is no less important, but to realize this objective, a few more preliminary and, therefore, urgent steps are inevitable. Thus, for instance, uptodate and authentic *surveys* of the various aspects of this heritage have to be made and published with exhaustive *indexes*. Besides, not only a **Biographical Dictionary** of the distinguished sons and daughters of Kashmir, such as scholars, writers and thinkers, but also volumes like a **Dictionary of Saivism and Sufism** have to be compiled. Such a work long overdue, is likely to promote a study of the religio-philosophical history of the land.

A new linguistic survey of the state would, no doubt, be covered by the fothcoming linguistic survey of India, in the near future, but that would hardly justify any delay in the preparation of **scientific grammars and linguistic introductions** to the mother-tongues spoken in the state; much less in the task of exploring, collecting, and compiling the *folklore* of the land. Unless these programmes are undertaken, no scientific study of the folk-traditions and the folk-patterns is possible. The preparation of specific *vocabularies* peculiar to different callings and vocations and spheres of activity has also to be taken up and carried on side by side. That will, incidentally help in collecting genuine source-material for the compilation of authentic dictionaries of the various mother-tongues spoken in the State, including a *Thesauras* and integrated *multilingual vocabularies* of all these tongues with English, Hindi and Urdu parallels. The indispensability of this source-material can hardly be overemphasized; for, a dictionary is not merely an alphabetical list of coinages or terminologies, but has to derive sanction from some sort of *diction* whether preserved in the written treasures or alive in the oral tradition. The programme therefore, calls for the constitution of a **Folklore Squad** of half a dozen competent young scholars trained in the technique of exploration as well as scientific notation of folklore material and equipped with a tape-recorder for the purpose. The material thus collected, would prepare the ground for *anthropological studies* also and provide a correct perspective for researches in the cultural evolution of Kashmir.

These, in brief are the requisites of *Kashmirology* which have to be minded by all workers in the field.

Notes and References

1. Cf. p. 8

2. Accordingly, the Department is at present working on the following, scheduled to appear in 1960-61 :

Catalogue : Vol. 1 (Historiography) ; and

Miscellany : Vol. 1 (Zainul-a'bidin and His Times)

3. With this idea in view a comprehensive survey of MS S lying undetected or unutilized in the various regions of the State is under consideration by the Department which proposes to bring out a Literary History of Kashmir in three Vols. during (1960-63.)

[Excerpted from : 'The Literary Heritage of Kashmir' (1985). Edited by K. L. Kalla, Mittal Publications, The author (late) Prof. P. N. Pushp has been a renowned professor, linguist and scholar that Kashmir has produced. He has also been the former Director, Research, Libraries and Museums, J&K Government, Srinagar]

Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

24 We Owe it to Our Language

T. N. Dhar 'Kundan'

24.1 The Language, Origin and Development

'***Koshur***' is Kashmiri, the language of Kashmiris called '*Kaeshir*'. Although there are two different views about its origin, yet a dispassionate and scientific analysis will show that it had developed from the language of the Vedas. Thereafter the syntax, vocabulary and idiom of Sanskrit enriched it. During the Pathan and Mughal rule, when Persian became the court language, it adopted a number of Persian words. During the rule of the Sikhs, the language of the Punjab also influenced this language and later, with the adoption of Urdu as the official language by the Dogra rulers, it had to borrow from Urdu language as well as from English. There are references in various chronicles that during the Buddhist period some religious books were written in local Prakrit, which has to be Kashmiri but these books are extinct although their translations are available. The initial glimpse of this language is had from the verses written about the love life of the queen of Raja Jayapeeda during 8th century and in the Sanskrit work, '**Setu Bandh**'of King Praversen, who established Srinagar as the capital of the valley. This language was then referred to as '**Sarva gochar Bhasha**' or the language of the masses. The Sanskrit writers used to write in this language side by side with Sanskrit. But a systematic literature in Kashmiri starts from '**Mahanay Prakash**' written in thirteenth century by Shitikanth in the same Vakh form, which was used later by Lal Ded. Kashmiris had evolved a script of their own and this is called Sharada script. It largely follows the pattern of the Devanagari script in the matter of the alphabets and combination of vowel sounds with consonants and appears to have been developed from the old Brahmi script. Unfortunately this script did not get official recognition for obvious reasons and has gone in disuse. It may not be out of place to mention that even Ghulam Mohd. Mehjoor, the eminent poet was in favour of retaining the Sharada script. The official script is based on Persian script with some modifications. Because of a large number of vowel sounds and shades in this language this script hardly meets the requirement. It is time that the alternative script based on Devanagari alphabets, with two or three modifiers is also given recognition. It may be mentioned that such a script is currently used by all the publications and journals issued from Jammu and Delhi. Lately two of the modifiers have been replaced so that the Kashmiri language can be fed into a computer also with ease. The Devanagari script thus evolved will be scientifically accurate and viable from technological point of view also.

24.2 The Literature

Spiritual Literature : Kashmiri language is very rich in literature, particularly in poetry. The prominent forms in which poetry has been written have been taken from Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian and English. From Sanskrit we have adopted *Vakh* and *Shruk* or '*Vakya* and *Shloka*' as also *Vatsun* or '*Vachan*'. Hindi has given us Geet and Urdu Ghazal, Qita, Nazm and Rubai. From English we have taken Sonnet and Free verse. Lal Ded and Nunda Rishi of the fourteenth century are two great names who have written mystic and spiritual quatrains. Our poetry starts systematically from Lal Ded whose Vakhs were first translated into Sanskrit by Bhaskaracharya and then into English and many other languages. These Vakhs are dipped in Shaiva philosophy and enjoin upon us to go inwards in order to attain the reality. '*Gorun dopnam kunuy vatsun, nebra dopnam ander atsun* my preceptor advised me in nutshell to go from without to within.' Nunda Rishi wrote Shruk, which are replete with mysticism. He has praised Lal Ded in these words; '*Tas Padman Porechi Lale, Yem gale amreth chyev, Shiv Tshorun thali thale, tyuth me var ditam Deevo* Lala of Padmanpura drank the nectar and perceived Shiva in everything. O God, give me a similar boon (so that I see the Divine in the similar way).' These two poets are great names in our spiritual and mystic poetry. Whereas Lal Ded has propounded Jnana and Shaiva philosophy in her Vakhs, Nunda Rishi has put forth the mystic ideology in his Shrukhs. All the Kashmiris hold both in high esteem. During his itinerary, Nunda Rishi reached village Tsrar. He is reported to have spontaneously uttered these words there, rhyming with the name of the place, '*Tsrar Vola zuva yati prar* let me wait here till the last,' and it is here that he left his mortal frame.

Romantic Literature : While this spiritual writing must have continued as a sub-stream, in the sixteenth century we suddenly see emergence of a new theme in the poetry of Zoon, later known as Habba Khatoon. She has sung songs of love, separation, and ill treatment at the hands of the in laws and other human feelings. The Kashmiri poetry thus came down from the spiritual heights to the mundane human level. Her lament was, '*Varivyan saet vara chhasno chara kar myon malino ho* I am not at peace with my in-laws, would somebody come to my rescue from my father's side?' Arnimal further strengthens this human romantic and love poetry in 18th century. Her diction and selection of words and the musical meters used by her are exquisitely beautiful. She had profound knowledge of classical music and is believed to have rearranged the Ragas in use for the 'Sufiana Kalam'. For the first time she uses what in Sanskrit are called 'Shabda-alankaras' or decoration of the words, like alliteration and internal rhyming. An example would show her master craftsmanship. '*Matshi thap ditsnam nyandri hatsi matsi, matshi matsha-band sanith gom, vanta vyas vony kus kas patsi, vunyub karith gom* I was in deep slumber when he caught hold of my wrist. The gold wristband cut into the very flesh of my wrist. Friend! Tell me who is to be trusted in these circumstances. He has left me crust fallen.' Rupa Bhawani is another great name in the spiritual poetry. Her Vakhs are full of Shaiva philosophy and the language is Sanskritized. She lived a hundred years in 17th century and is regarded as an incarnation of Goddess Sharika. There are a number of anecdotes about her interaction with Muslim Sufi saints. In one such encounter with 'Shah Qalandar' it is narrated that the two were on the opposite banks of a river. The Sufi called her, '**Rupa** (literally Silver) come over to my side, I shall make you **Son** (literally Gold). She replied, 'Why don't you come over so that I make you **Mokhta** (literally a pearl as also emancipated)'.

Persian Influence **:** By this time the Persian influence had gone deep into our literature. Poets started writing 'Masnavis' or long fables in verse. The prominent poet of this period has been Mohmud Gami, who lived during 18th and 19th centuries. The Persian stories adopted by him included those of Laila Majnun, Yusuf Zulaikha, Shirin Farhad, etc. Yusuf Zulaikha, which has been translated in German language, is the most famous of his compositions. He no doubt introduced the Masnavi style but it reached its zenith at the hands of Maqbool Kralawari. This 19th century poet has written a monumental masnavi, 'Gulrez,' which has become very popular with the masses. From here onwards three distinct streams of poetry continued to flow unabated, the spiritual-mystic, the devotional and the romantic. There is a long list of Sufi poets, who espoused the cause of purity and piety as also mutual brotherhood between various religious groups. These included Rahman Dar, Shamas Faqir, Sochha Kral, Nyama Sahib and a host of others. Their philosophy was monotheistic and they laid stress on ethical and moral values. Their poetry shows a deep influence of Advaita Philosophy. '*Ognuy sapan to dognyar travo, pana nishi pan parzanavo lo* Trust in oneness and shun duality; try to know thy real self.' '*Ognuy soruy dognyar naba, haba yi chhui bahanay* Truth is one and there is no duality; all else is a fallacy.' In the second stream of devotional poets the names of Prakash Ram, Krishna Razdan and Parmanand are prominent. While the first two wrote devotional poems called 'Leela' in praise of Shri Rama, the last named was a devout of Shri Krishna. '*Aaras manz atsaevay, vigne zan natsaevay* Let us join the circle of dancers and dance like nymphs in ecstasy for Shri Krishna. Parmanand, who lived in 19th century, has written a memorable long poem wherein he has compared the human actions with tilling of the land right from ploughing up to the time of reaping the harvest. '*Karma bhumikayi dizi dharmuk bal, santoshi byali bhavi aananda phal* your actions are the land where you must put in the fertilizer fo righteousness. Sow the seed of contentment and you will reap the harvest of suprems bliss.' Prakash Ram wrote the first Ramayana in Kashmiri and captioned it '*Ram Avtar Tsaryet*.' In the romantic stream of poetry, the next important poet has been Rasul Meer. He has written beautiful love poems in musical meters. His famous poem starts with these words, '*Rinda posh maal gindne drayi lolo, shubi shabash chani pot tshayi lolo* My beloved has come out to play in an ecstatic mood, praise be to her shadow that follows her.' The description in the next line is noteworthy. 'Raza hanziyani naaz kyah aenzini gardan, ya lllahi chashmi bad nishi rachhtan, kam kyah gatshi chani baargahi lolo The gracious one has a neck like a swan. God! Save her from evil eye. By that your grace will be no poorer.' Rasul Meer was the first poet who addressed his poems to a

female beloved. The earlier poets had made a male their love, perhaps because they were pointing to the Divine and not the human.

Modern Period : The twentieth century is the period when the Kashmiri language made an all round progress. The three streams that were flowing continued and some new trends also developed. Master Zinda Kaul is a great name among the mystic poets of this period. His book 'Sumran' won him the Sahitya Academy award. His suggestive poems are par excellence. A short poem of his reads, '*Tyamber pyayam me khaermanas, alava hyotun kanzael vanas, taer ti ma laej phaelnas, dil dodum jigar tatyom, krakh vaetsh zi naar ha* A spark fell on the haystack, the entire jungle caught fire. It didn't take long to spread. My heart burnt and the liver heated up shouts came from all sides, fire! Fire! Fire! 'He has described God in these words : '*Kaem tam kar tamat bonah pot tshayi doorey dyuthmut, sanyev kanav tee buzmut, saenis dilas tee byuthmut* Someday somewhere somebody has seen His shadow from a distance. We have heard it with our ears and our heart is convinced of His existence.' Ahad Zargar is another important poet of this stream who has written masterly poems on mysticism and spirituality. The immortal poet Mahjoor, who is called Wordsworth of Kashmiri language, has carried the romantic poetry to new heights. He was acclaimed by no less a personality than Rabindranath Tagore. The Hindi poet Devendra Satyarthi, collecting folk songs of different Indian languages was aghast to find that Mehjoor's poems were being sung by peasants in the fields just like folk songs during his life time. He had this message for his fellow country men : 'hyund chhu shakar dodh chhu muslim ahli deen, dodh ta shakar milanaeviv pan vaen Hindus are like sugar and Muslims like milk, let us mix the two (to create a harmonious society)'. Another great name of this period is that of Abdul Ahad Azad. He did not live long but left and indelible mark on our literature. He was virtually the harbinger of the progressive poetry in Kashmiri. His long poem 'Daryav' or the river is a masterpiece. He had riducled romance in the face of poverty, want and hunger. '*Madanvaro lagay paeree, ba no zara ashqa bemari.Tse saet gaetsh fursatha aasen, dilas gaetsh farhatha aasen, me gaemets nael naadari, ba no zara ashqa bemari* My love! Romance is not my cup of tea. It needs leisure and peace of mind. I have none and I am crestfallen due to my poverty. So no romance for me please.'

***After 1947* :** Post Independence period is a period of renaissance for an all round development of literature in Kashmiri. Kashmiri poets were influenced by the philosophy of Marx and the progressive literature of other languages, notably that of Urdu. While Allama Iqbal was the ideal for many, Faiz, Jaffri and other Urdu poets were heroes for others and they took a cue from their writings. Whereas most of the mystic poetry was full of obscure and suggestive idiom, the poetry of this new genre of poets was frank and forthright; sometimes sounding like slogans. In response to the Pakistani tribal raid, the writers formed Kashmir Cultural Front in defence of inter-ethnic harmony and as an affront to religious fanaticism. The literature created could not remain unaffected by the political and social uprising. Earlier in 1945 Mirza Arif had started a cultural organisation by the name of 'Bazme adab'. Many enthusiastic writers got involved with this organization. Mirza Arif himself is a well-known name for his Kashmiri Rubaiyas, which are crisp and meaningful. The prominent poets of this new movement are Dina Nath Nadim, Rehman Rahi and Amin Kamil. Nadim revolutionized the entire face of poetry. He used pure Kashmiri diction, gave statement to the desire and aspiration of the common man and raised his voice strongly in defence of peace. He wrote operas and sonnets for the first time and his poems have been translated into many languages. One of his immortal poems against wars and strife is '*Mya chham aash pagahaech, pagah sholi duniyah* I have full faith in tomorrow for tomorrow will bring new light to the entire world.' He is the trendsetter of progressive and humanistic poetry in Kashmir. His operas, '*Bomber ta Yambarzal' 'Neeki ta baedi*' etc are the milestones in our literature. Rahi is another Sahitya Academy awardee, whose '*Nav rozi Saba*' shows the influence of Iqbal very clearly. He has also made a rich contribution to Kashmiri poetry. He sang, '*Yaer mutsraev taer barnyan, Maer maend phyur mas malryan, vaer zahir vaets aaman ta lolo* The benefactor has thrown the doors open and filled wine into the big pitchers; It appears that the common man will get his share now.' Kamil has written short stories and poetry both. His diction is rustic and meters musical. '*Khot sorma sranjan tala razan bhav bahar aav* The price of the items of make-up for ladies and the ornaments have shot up, it appears the spring has arrived.'

This period produced a galaxy of poets who contributed to the enrichment of our literature. Noor Mohd. Roshan, Arjun Dev Majboor, Ghulam Rasool Santosh, Moti Lal Saqi, Chaman Lal Chaman, Prem Nath Premi, Makhan Lal Bekas, Ghulam Nabi Firaq, Vasudev Reh, Ghulam Nabi Khayal were active within the valley and outside there were B.N. Kaul, Shambu Nath Bhatt Haleem and myself who wrote on a variety of subjects.

Prose writing also got a fillip during this period and continues unabated to date. The master short story writers include Akhtar Mohiuddin, Som Nath Zutshi, Ali Mohd. Lone, Umesh, Bansi Nirdosh, Hriday Kaul Bharati, Deepak Kaul, Hari Krishna Kaul, Santosh and Kamil. They gave statement to the emotions and feelings of the common man and picturized the life of the inhabitants of the valley. Akhtar, Lone, Kamil and Hari Krishna have written novels also and given a lead in this direction. Radio Kashmir and later the Door Darshan Kendra at Srinagar provided an opportunity and thereby played an important role in encouraging these writers. The Academy of Arts and Culture has also been publishing the works of these artists and anthologies, which inspires other young writers to try their pen. Moti Lal Kyomu has been a pioneer in the field of drama and Pushkar Bhan in satirical radio plays. Hari Krishna Kaul is also a successful drama writer. There are a host of other writers whom I have not mentioned for fear of digressing from the central point. My apologies to them since I hold all of them in high esteem and recognize their contribution to the Kashmiri literature. I am trying to make a point that our language is rich in literature. There have been some translations into other languages but it is not enough. Some of the names that come to one's mind, who have done pioneering work in popularizing Kashmiri literature are Professors Jai Lal Kaul, Nand Lal Talib, T.N. Raina, P.N. Pushp, K.N. Dhar, as also B.N. Parimoo, Moti Lal Saqi and R.K. Rehbar. There is a pressing need for translating the selected works from Kashmiri into other Indian and foreign languages so that the readers and scholars in the entire country will be acquainted with its depth and vastness. Kashmiri is the beloved mother tongue of all the Kashmiris irrespective of their creed or faith. Both the communities, the Hindus and the Muslims have produced poets, writers and artists of repute. It is, however, a pity that the language has not been receiving the official patronage that it deserves.

After the Holocaust. Post 1990 period has been a period of turmoil, which brought shame to the composite culture of the valley. The Hindus had to migrate to Jammu, Delhi and other parts of the country to escape the wrath of the foreign provoked and controlled militancy. During the last decade of their exile Kashmiri writers have authored a lot of literature. In this literature there is a lament of losing their hearth and homes, a craving to go back to their roots and pain and anguish at the way in which politics and narrow aggrandizement have cut at the very roots of their rich culture and shattered their proud tradition. The worst casualty has been the mutual trust, relationship and understanding between people of different faiths. My lament in the following verse may not, therefore, be out of place :

> ***"Byeyi vaeth deenaek ta dharmaek fitnai, Byeyi gav byon alfas nish bey.***
>
> ***Gotsh na yi ravun hasil kor yus, Dashi thaev thaev astanan manz."***
>
> ***(Again we are witnessing conflict and confrontation in the name of religions. Again one is getting separated from the other. I am afraid we may not lose all that we had achieved after offering prayers repeatedly at the shrines and holy places.)***

24.3 The Task Ahead

Language is not only a means of communication, but it also gives a distinct identity to the people who inherit that. We have inherited this rich language and this gives us a distinct identity as Kashmiris. Our rich culture is treasured in the Vakhs of Lal Ded, writings of Roopa Bhawani, Leelas of Parmananda and Krishna Razdan and our desires and aspirations have got statement in the writings of the galaxy of poets and writers that our comunity has produced. It is in our interests, therefore, to preserve this language, keep it alive by using it and enrich it by new and fresh literature. There is a conscious attempt made by certain quarters of vested interests to distort our heritage and to belittle our rich culture. In the name of

research they have been putting forth obnoxious theories linking our past with unknown lands and trying to prove that we had no connection with our motherland, India. Due to narrow religious considerations, communal bias and political reasons alien languages are being given preference over our own mother tongue. Keeping the Kashmiri language and literature intact in its pristine glory is tantamount to preserving Hindu culture, Hindu past of Kashmir and Hindu ancestry of the Kashmiri people. It is, therefore, not in their interests not to protect and preserve the glorious past of this language. But it is very much in our interests to do so and it can be done in three ways.

The first and foremost way is to use Kashmiri in day to day conversation and correspondence with all Kashmiri knowing friends and relatives. Purity of diction need not be enforced, but let us use our mother tongue. For example why not 'Shokravar' instead of 'Jumma,' 'Shyun or Neni' instead of 'Maaz,' 'Siriyi' instead of 'Akhtab' and so on. Likewise on the occasion of marriages and 'Yoni' our ladies should invariably sing 'Vanavun' in their own style which gives the fragrance of 'Isbund.' This vanavun is based on the recitation of the Sama Veda. The second task is to teach our children our language, in the Devanagari script, either at home or collectively by arranging weekly classes at a common place, be it Kashmir Bhawans, local temples or community halls or through a correspondence course. There will be any number of volunteers available to teach youngsters in India and abroad. All that is needed is to defray their travel expenses. This can be done by raising funds at the rate of a paltry sum of Rs. 20 or 30 per month per family in India and a corresponding suitable amount in the foreign countries. One will not be surprised to find donors even for this item of expenditure. There is no dearth of people who are willing to serve the cause of preserving our culture in any form possible. Care has to be taken, however, that there is uniformity in the script used in correspondence and in teaching during these classes. I suggest Devanagari script as adopted by the Koshur Samachar with the changes announced in its July 2000 issue. The third most important action would be for our scholars to be vigilant about the results of the so called 'research' being conducted by the 'well-wishers' of Kashmiri and rebut all the distortions, falsehood and baseless conclusions. This rebuttal should be based on facts volunteers available to teach youngsters in India and abroad. All that is needed is to defray their travel expenses. This can be done by raising funds at the rate of a paltry sum of Rs. 20 or 30 per month per family in India and a corresponding suitable amount in the foreign countries. One will not be surprised to find donors even for this item of expenditure. There is no dearth of people who are willing to serve the cause of preserving our culture in any form possible. Care has to be taken, however, that there is uniformity in the script used in correspondence and in teaching during these classes. I suggest Devanagari script as adopted by the Koshur Samachar with the changes announced in its July 2000 issue. The third most important action would be for our scholars to be vigilant about the results of the so called 'research' being conducted by the 'well-wishers' of Kashmiri and rebut all the distortions, falsehood and baseless conclusions. This rebuttal should be based on facts and figures, well reasoned and cogent so that the enlightened readership of Kashmir and outside can draw their own valid conclusions. We cannot afford to allow obnoxious statements like 'Arnimal never existed' or 'Lal Ded was mentally deranged' or 'Kashmiri mystic poetry was influenced by Sufis' etc, go unchallenged. The facts are that Arnimal was a great poetess, who gave shape to the ragas for Sufiana Kalam and wrote beautiful lyrics. Lal Ded was an emancipated Shaiva saint and the 'Adi Kavitri' of the Kashmiri language. The Sufis were greatly influenced by non-duelist philosophy of the Kashmir Shaiva Darshan, which is apparent from their compositions. We are aware that many Samitis and Associations and individuals are doing a good job in these areas. Many Kashmiris have adopted Kashmiri language for Invitation and Greeting cards, but this is not enough. There has to be a movement and this work needs to be done with a missionary zeal and in coordination with each other.

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25 An Outline of the Growth of Various Forms in Kashmiri Literature

Prof. Mohiud-Din Hajini

25.1 Epics

The classical Mahabharata was probably rendered into Kashmiri during Sultan Zain-ul-Aabideen's time; the mutilated manuscript in the Research Department is perhaps its only extant copy. Its translator is nowhere traceable in the text, and its diction is mostly outdated. Bhatavtar's reported translation of some parts or the whole of Firdousi's Shahnama during this period has never been located anywhere. After the downfall of the Shahmiri and the Chak dynasties, literary interest in epics continued declining till Prakash Kaul of Kurigam retold Ramayana in Kashmiri probably in 1847 A.D. There were other abridged versions of the Ramayana, the latest one being Nila Kanth Sharma's in the present century. From amongst the 19th century epic poets Moulvi Siddiqullah of Hajin gave us the first version of Nizami's famous Sikendernama, Hamidullah of Anantnag is the only Kashmiri poet in the 19th century who wrote his Akbarnama (Afghan wars with the British) in Persian, and Wahhab Parey of Hajin, the greatest epic-poet in Kashmiri, rendered it into Kashmiri when he was a budding poet.

Later Wahhab retold Fridousi's entire Shahnama in 23491 verses, including Khilafatnama (i.e. Muslim conquest of Iran) in 6666 verses. It was on Wahhab's initiative that Amir Shah of Kreri brought from the voluminous Kashmiri version of Khajoo's Saamnama. Lachman Kaul Bulbul's abbreviated Saamnama (1874 A.D.), is purer in diction though not superior in content to Amir Shah's. Amir Shah's another noteworthy epic is Khawarnama on the military exploits of the fourth Orthodox Caliph, Hazrat-e-Ali. He was followed by Muzaffar Shah who wrote Jang-e-Mukhtar depicting the horrible vengeance wrought on Ummayed troops, who were reported to have killed Imam-e-Hussain, the martyr. All these classical renderings from Persian, stand as milestones in our epic literature, providing a pattern for a host of junior poets in epics; hence we see as for instance, Ali Shah of Haril (d 1932) writing dozens of Razmia (Combat) works, mostly covering early Muslim History, till Gh Mohammad, Hanafi (d 1937) retold the Qissa-e-Amir Hamza of Allama Faizi into persianized Kashmiri. By this time, almost all Arab battles fought and won during the time of the Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him) and his orthodox Caliphs, were rendered into Kashmiri verse, mostly dominated by Persian not only in the style and metre, but in phrases, epithets, conceit and hyperbole. It is not a strange experience in the 19th Century and early 20th Century, that sometimes small combat-epics are woven round a casual reference in Muslim History and tactfully-developed to a glorious climax. With the advancements in education, poets seem to have completely disengaged themselves from epic literature and that is why no epic in the Mathnavi form appeared since1937.

25.2 Romanticism

With rare exceptions where the poet follows the text strictly in accordance with the Muslim History, the majority of epics are romantic in the sense that each one "embodies the life and adventure of some hero of Chivalry, or belongs in matter and form, to the age of knighthood." Similarly each one has a tinge of fictitious narrative of which the scene and incidents are very remote from the ordinary life, and often woven into wanton exaggeration and picturesque falsehood, "the recognised ingredients of romance both in epics and in aesthetic poetry."

The influence of Persian often creeps in intensely in subjective moods that sublimate into romantic flashes first under a veiled and allegorical sensuousness and later into sublime ejaculations. Habba Khatoon, Arnimal, Rasool Mir and Mahjoor respectively stand as milestones in the romantic poetry of 16th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. To them every thing in the romantic environment of Kashmir "particularly flower, meadow glen, glade and even a thistle appeared both bewildering and soothing" and above all "in rapturous communication with the poets sub-conscious". This tradition was carried further by Wahhab in Ghazals and by Haquani, Haji Miskeen, Hairat and Lassa Khan in their Bazmia (love), mathnavi, but the field of the first three was vast enough to be limited to pure romanticism. In fact, the prolific legacy of Mathnavi literature during the19th and early 20th century is potential enough to supply

sublime models of style and theme for a long time to come. Gulrez, Gulnoor Rana-Zega, Sherin Khusroo, Wamiq Azra, Gul-e-Bakawuli, Mumtaz-e Benazir, even though only Kashmiri versions of foreign romantic works, do come upto the standard regarding diction, plot, and pitch in the style. As for romantic songs and ghazals during the last and the present centuries, it will require a complete discourse to cover the topic. Even though no noteworthy romance in Mathnavi form has appeared after 1947, Rahi, Kamil, Nawaz, Rasa Javidani, Firaq and Azim have enriched Kashmiri with the finest prices in pure romanticism, in a number of non-mathnavi poems. This group has unconsciously given a lead to the budding poets in modern romanticism i.e. Nazir, Rasheed Nazki, Kanwal, Raaz, Manzoor Hashami, Saqi and Ahsan.

25.3 Lyrics

Lyrics originally meant something pertaining to lyre i.e. to be sung : later it came to mean a poem divided into stanzas or strophes, and directly expressing the poet's thoughts or sentiments. In Kashmiri we have "Lol-lyrics" a phrase coined by Prof. J. L. Kaul, Lol implying an untranslatable complex of love, longing and tugging at the heart. "This form has a long history and tradition in Kashmir. It is rarely more than six to ten lines, including the refrain, and often converges on a single mood." Habba Khatoon initiated its form "Watsun' in which each three line stanza is followed by a refrain (Voje). In due course all songs such as Chakri, Rov and Lila songs adopted "Watsun" as its form. We owe its preservation to the professional singers of the Sufiana Kalam (mystic poetry).

It is a thing of music and with its end-rhymes, medial rhymes and ever-recurring refrains, its alliterations, and assonance that come naturally as the very stuff of the language, which has high proportion of vowels and semi-vowels to its consonants and in which aspirates, gutterals and consonants are rare. Its appeal is directly to the emotions of the listener.

In classical lyrics, such as those of Habba Khatoon and Arnimal "there were few allusions and fewer ornaments; they had directness, simplicity, and a tender piognancy of feeling; whereas the latter imitations are more and more sophisticated. The earlier lyrics are "charged with the intensity of feeling that often concentrates on the yearning for the beloved "that may resemble any human being from Yusuf Shah Chak (the exiled and dethroned lover of Habba Khatoon) the Biblical Yusuf (Joseph) the ideal of beauty in all oriental lore. As for the latter period i.e. from Mahmood Gami onwards, our lyrics clearly fall into two groups : Rasool Miri Maqbool Shah, Krishan Razdan (1925) and Mahjoor sing of Mahammadan type of beloved; Nema Sahib (1880), Swach Kral and Aziz Darvish 1890 wrote lyrics to soothe the drooping soul of the complex ridden Kashmiri who always pines for the exhilirating rapture in which he would not have to sing every now and then, with Mahjoor "winter will pass off, and ice will melt away, yes the spring shall come again."

Prof. J. K. Kaul's "Lol Lyrics", published in 1945 in Roman script of Kashmiri with an accurate English translation, is the pioneer attempt in compilation of scattered lore of our lyrics.

25.4 Folk Lore

Long after A. Stein and J.H. Knowle first introduced some salients facts of Kashmiri folklore particularly folk-tales for the English-knowing world. The local authors, and subsequently the J & K Cultural Academy felt that this branch of literature also is worth exploration of literary books like Bazum-e-Adab and Progressive Writers Congress also provided the spoken work, and within 20 years the elementary attempts at discovering the folklore revealed a vast field to researchers. Anthologies of folk-tales such as Bhrachy-Kathu (Publication poems Government of India) are the first successful compilation in Kashmiri prose. The versified part can now be classified as under :

(a) These include "nursery rhymes, cradle songs, harvest song and even the boatman's chanty, riddles or even meaningless snatches" (J.L. Kaul). This genre varies in content and meaning both with the growth of age and change in situation. It is only after 1947 that this otherwise anonymous stock, is classified as a distinct type, and we now have for example, Childrens' Books which for instance include :

Poshamal by S. N. Sadhu, *Mukahtahar* by Naji Manawar and Rahbar, *Baalmarayo* by S. N. Haleem, and *Don Quirti* by Prof. Sadhu. For the grown-up, we have :

(b) **Folk Songs :** It is usually intensely subjective; its forms are varied and simple, mostly a four line stanza with a refrain intended to suit numerous situations in life e.g. to supplicate spiritual patronage for the baby cheer up a naughty youngster, buck up a bored artisan, or lighten the burden of a housewife, a weader or a coolie dragging on a loaded cart. (Kaul). The five commendable volumes of Kashmiri Luka Bath (1965-71) one compiled jointly by Naji and Saqi and the other four by Saqi alone, comprise the best specimen of almost all offshoots of folksongs.

(c) **Vanvun :** and **Rov :** The two forms are perhaps the oldest art forms of the folk song exclusively "reserved for the fair-sex, vanavun is a "must" for all ceremonies, such as Id, Shivratri, and the month of Ramzan etc. Vanavun is always lighter in the tune, varied in form, and centred round a particular occasion as for instance, heralding a prosperous future for the baby : While Rov has its own peculiarities. Prof. Kaul has graphically depicted it when he wrote the country lasses and the middle aged dames come out (always after the sunset), divide themselves into two interlocked rows their arms over one another's shoulders and begin the swing like movement of the whole file, one row advancing and other receding both keeping tunes to the dance tune of the Rov. These songs have redieved the tedinus of the life of the illiterate women-folk, who, finds in them a sincere echo of their emotions.

In Rov alone the fair sex get a free chance to ejaculate their inner urges and suppressed aspirations. Gh. Mustafa Manzoor (b. 1906) and Gh. Hassan Driver (b. 1907) have added a lot to this otherwise anonymous branch of the folksong.

(d) **Daastan Shayeri :** A number of long classical tales are inter-woven in songs appropriate to the various situations in the plot ; these songs form a distinct genre called Dasstan Shayeri. Some of the tales are purely native such as Akanandun, Jehaar and Habba Khatoon, while some others are of foreign origin e.g. Laila Majnoon, Haroon Rashed Gul-e-Sonaber etc. Except Kabir Mir's Zen-e-Mazoor (Wood cutter) all the pieces are anonymous, and at the mercy of the professional recited (Kathagor), whose love for the old and even obsolete idiom and vocables can well be illustrated by one example of Mohammad Khaar (d. 1968) of Shahgund, who could at the age of about ninety recite exactly and faithfully 150 verses of Bhadur Ganais' Aknandun transmitted traditonallly more than 300 years back. In view of the diminishing number of narrations, there is every apprehension of the loss of major portion of this "Poetry", unless arrangements are made for its proper compilation.

25.5 Devotional Poetry

Lal Ded and Shiekh Noor-Ud-Din Noorani are the first two Kashmiri poets whose major part of the non-mystic poetry falls under this form; of course, with one difference; Lal Ded basing her poetry on Shaivite faith, and Nund Rishi on Islamic ethics. Both abhored hypocrisy and ritualism in various creeds and exhorted listeners to seek purity of mind and good conduct irrespective of their creed. Numerous saints and disciples in the Rishi order and Shaivite cult carried the message on with the result that almost every poet deemed his duty to bequeath to posterity some devotional songs in various art forms. In the entire gamut, we notice one major difference : non-muslim poets using over-sanskritized and muslims over-persianized diction of style. From Sahab Kaul (d. 1676) to Krishna Razdan, (d. 1925) on the one hand and from Habibullah Nowshahri (1617) to Haqqunani (d. 1928) on the other hand, a long chain of poets have followed this trade both in the language used, and in the religious objectives propounded. There are some exceptions to the rule with regard to the theme. Muslim poets writing in the style of Shastra e.g. Rahiem Sahib, Shamus Faqiur or Ahed Zargar, and Hindu poets singing eulogues to the Holy Prophet e.g. Sat Ram (d. 1934) or Anand Kaul (d. 1939) but these are not too many, though their attempts do 'indicate the spirit of reverance for faiths other than ones own.'

Devotional poetry has, branched in to numerous fields; hymns (Munajaat) to God, eulogues (Naat) to the Prophet, panegyrics (Manquabat) to saints, in the Muslim group; and 'lilas', 'Bhajans' and reformative poems in the Hindu group. The sources of the muse also vary correspondingly : Muslims derive their material from the Holy Quran, Traditions of the Prophet, Islamic History, Theology and Mysticism : Hindus basing their verse on mythology, Bhagvat Geeta, Puranas, Krishana Bhakti, Rama Bhakti and Trika Shastra.

Taayis (d. 1914), Sana-ullah Kreri (d. 1875), Nadim (d. 1911), Jaid (d. 1908) have utilized almost their entire crudation to Naat and Munajaat; Lakhman Joo Bullbul (d. 1884) and Krishna Razdan (1925) wrote 'lilas', 'Bhajans and reformation poems. Several others who have contributed a lot to other forms, have also excelled in their religious verse e.g. Molvi Siddiquallah of Hajin (1900), Hassan Shah (1898) and Haquani (1928), Prakash Ram (1898). Paramanand (d. 1879) and Nil Kanth Sharma (d. 1969) come under this class. With this solid and mature background, the traditions of this theme continue more systematically and vigorously amongst the contemporary poets. Shamus-ud-Din Ghamgeen (b. 1910), Fazil (b. 1914), Tanha (d. 1968) in general and Ghulam Mushtaq (b. 1934) and Arshique, Zakhmi have produced excellant pieces in religious verse, during the past two decades.

25.6 Mysticism

Down from Sati Kanth (13th century), to the contemporary Ahad Zargar (b. 1908) we have a trailing galaxy of mystic poets in every century, some like Lal Ded (d. 1400), Nund Rishi (d. 1438), Paramanand (d. 1879), Shamus Faquer (d. 1905) and Zinda Kaul (d. 1965) pioneers both in style and message, while a good number of them, though not all sublime in verse, yet mature enough in mystical vision e.g. Rahiem Sahib (d. 1869), Swach Kral (d. 1891), and Rahman Dar (d. 1900). It is true that in almost every period, most of our mystics' such as Kh. Habibullah Nowshawri (d. 1617), Roupa Bhawani (d. 1721), Aziz Darvish Shah Gafoor (d. 18th century) and Ahmad Batwari (d. 1920) could rarely rise alone the pantheistic school of mysticism, and some others were exclusively concerned with their "trance ejaculations than with poetic canons e.g Momin Shah (early 19th century), Wahhab Khaar (d. 1912) and Asad Parey (d. 1916), it will nevertheless be too bold, even audacious, to evaluate their contribution to mystic verse with a para or so. The ever accummaling legacy in mystic poetry is so fecundite in content and so diversifying in form as to attract any critic to pick up numerous noteworthy traits, wise saws and pithy sayings, didactic quidities and intuitive flashes even ,in the otherwise obscure mystics all converging on 'discovery of the innerself'.

Before the advent of Islam, Kashmir was the nerve-centre of Trika and Budhistic philosophies enunciating some beliefs and practices objectively akin to the Iranic mysticism of Muslim Saints; this affinity in course of time, flowered into an harmonious synthesis wherein the Muslim Muraquaba appeared identifiable with the Budhistic dhayana and Brahamic Samadhi in the mystic discipline. Far from Rahim Sahib to Master Zinda Kaul (d 1985) in the higher rank and from Mirza Kak to Samad Mir in the normal rank of mystics, we can glean numerous verses identical in appeal and conviction though widely varying in form and direction But this cultural link, though noteworthy cannot be stretched too far to identify the two major branches provided by the indigenous and Iranian thought. Thus the Krishna Bhakti school represented by Paramanand and Ram Bhakti school represented by Nila Kanth Sharma first round the distinct Hindu concepts, while the Kubravi, Subhrawadi, Rishi, Chisti and Quadri schools of Muslim mystics with very rare exceptions, trace back their genesis to Islamic tenets alone. Hence the difference in their final objective in the process of self realization, "Unlike the Nirvana" says R. A. Nicholson which is merely the cessation of individuality, "fana", the passing away of the Sufi from his phenomenal existence involves "baqa", the continuance of his real existence. (The mystic of Islam 1911 11 page 149). One aspect of all mystic poets, without distinction of creed is patent : all preached catholicism, renunciation of things worldly, tolerance, unitive state of the soul. But the keynotes to mysticism i.e. light, knowledge and love, or the ultima Thule of the 'heaven ward journey' i.e. absorbing into one Real Being all these are so distinctly 'comprehended' and presented that with no stretch of imagination can any one identify, say, the Ras Lila concept of Paramanand with the Hal-al-Haque of Haqquani. The Muslim Mystics, like their Iranian predecessors in faith distinguish these organs of the spiritual comunications, the heart (Qab) which knows God, the spirit (Ruh) which loves Him, and the inner ground of the soul (Sirr) which contemplates Him (Nicholson). In this self realizing process, we come across the 'acquired stages' (Maquamaat), and directly-bestowed states (Ahwal), so repeatedly that the subject has now assumed a rigidly coventional scope, wherein a good number of them have largely, borrowed from persian not only ideas but the epithets and phrasses often state enough and also the imagery, symbolism

and conceit (Kaul). Such a blind mimicry has, no doubt reduced most of the thought-content in Kashmiri mystic poetry sentimental platitudinous, morbidly gloomy and obscure (Kaul)

M. A. Kamil's 3-Volume Kashmir Suti Shavic is the first anthology of our mystic poetry providing representative prices of almost all the eminent mystic poets, and touching major issues on the subject in its exhaustive Introduction.

25.7 Humour

Even though Kashmiri literature is deficient in humour when compared to other languages, its scattered stock is not hallow in content nor immature in spirit. Besides Ladishah and Banda Jashan (the former entertaining the country-folk, and the latter providing with in open air theatrical performance), a Kashmiri is justly noted for his ready wit, retort, repartee, pun and play upon words come naturally to his tongue. (J.L. Kaul). Maqbool Shah had given a start to caricaturing in verse, a farmer and a Pir, but latter poets added a lot to humorous verse. Pahelnama, Muqdam-nama, Malnama etc. Madha Deek of Srinagar in quatrains, and Wahhab Sahib of Sangrama in long poems spouted forth venomous lampoon streaked with humour. Abdul Ahad Nadim in his casual moods and Khezir Magrebi (b. 1921), Sayer (b. 1915) and Parwaz (b. 1943) as a born caricaturists have verified ridiculous situations in most telling colloquial idiom. G. R. Santosh has begun the game in prose.

The first weekly paper Guash (1940) and later G.N. Khayal's Weekly 'Wattan, (1964) had reserved a column for humour, while Noor Mohammad Book-Seller published the Asunta-Gindun, and Dilsoze immature but humorous skits before the fifties.

It was left for M. A. Kamil to give us the most remarkable compilation in Kashmiri humour in his "Asun Traye", published by the Cultural Academy in 1967. As for the comic characterization or radio features, Pushkar Bhan stands unparalleled where he 'utilizes humour and wit with utmost dexterity and touching verse'. (Kaul)

25.8 Shahr Ashobe

(c) When a Kashmiri took to new fashions that misplaced him in society, or to new values repugnant to the common belief, the poet came with his satire in Shahr Ashobe. This genre includes satire on corrupt officials, bamboozling priests, or even on natural calamities. It proved to be a literary, weapon and its object had to feel the sting for a pretty long time. Mehada Deek, Nazim, Nadim and Wahhab have left behind some serious pieces centring round either humorous caricaturing or stinging lampoon.

25.9 Ladishah

It is the typical name for a folk ballad pungently comic-cum-satiric in text, and historically speaking a sullen reaction of a suppressed nation against tyranny, vis major or deliberate 'mismanagement' of mundane affairs. It is distinguished for its 'homely metaphor, and picturesque potrayal of ridiculous situation, in which a common Kashmiri finds himself in an autocratic regime'; and it has proved to be a source of mental consolation for the enslaved folk during the centuries past. Major portion of this form is lost in verbal transmission by the illiterate bards, nevertheless we still possess some very fine pieces in the Ladishah. Hakeem Habibullah (1905), Munawer Shah of Kulsoo (d. 1925), and Lala Lakhman (d. 1947), are recognized masters of this form, while Noor Mohammad Roshan and Mohd. Ali Kanwal were their contemporary prototypes, who have added both vigour and colour to this form of the folk ballad.

25.10 Elegy (Marthiya or Marsiya)

Its origin is inferred in the Chak period (1561-86), and it continued expanding and developing till late in the 19th century. But it remained as if 'reserved with a group of professional reciters' called 'Zakirs' who made business of it every year, particularly during the first ten days of Moharrum, the first Hijri month of the year, Zakirs stuck to the rule not to let the elegies be published, for their services would then be dispensed with. That is why we possess only two collections of the Marsiya, one printed in Lahore before 1920, and the other (OSH-ta-Aab) in Srinagar in 1955, though there are innumerable collections with the

miserly Zakirs. Elegy in Kashmiri is written in long show solemnity, appropriate to the tragedy at Karbula. These display learning and rich allusiveness in their "bombastic or sentimental diction".

Although the language is often over-persianized yet some of th classical ones retain several terms that have now been either replaced or forgotten. Elegy in Mathnavi form can be read in Syed Amir Shah's Jang-e-Iman-e-Hanafiya A. G. Ashique's and Ghulam Hassan Darsis two mathnavi's under the same name i.e. Rouzat-u-Shuhda. A good number of classical Elegy writers preferred to die unsung e.g Khwaja Husain Mir Kh. Dayim, Hakeem Abdullah, Kh. Baquir, Mirza Abul Qasim, Kh. Safdar and Ahmad Ali Ghazi. Elegy in the conventional form gained full momention in the 19th century when Hakeem Azeem (d. 1852), Mohud Yusuf (d. 1885), Mustafa Ali (d. 1896), Munshi Mohd Ali (d. 1902) and Hakeem Habibullah (d. 1905) added new dimensions to this form. From amongst the 20th century poets who have made a name we find Hakeem Hussain Ali (d. 1916), Hakeem Gh. Rasool (d. 1930), Munshi Mohd. Abbas (d. 1945) and the contemporary Munshi Mohd. Sadique all enriching the form with new-ideas studded on the classical theme.

25.11 Quatrains (Rubaiyat) and Couplets (Qitaat)

Before Mirza Arif (b. 1910) only a few poets of eminent rank like Wahhab wrote quatrains, while the majority abstained from experimenting it because of its rigid rules of prosody. Mirza Arif made it his forte, and, in effect, gave a lead to the younger generation, though, it must be admitted, major portion of modern tetrastich verse does not follow the classical 'Hazj' metre. Even Mirza Arif himself and Khayyal, while translating the celebrated Umar Khayyam could not follow the original in the metre. Thus the bulk of modern "four line" stanzas can technically be classed as Du-Baitee" or couplets akin to quatrain only in the rhyme-scheme of 'a a b a'.

Following Mirza Arif, G.R. Azad and Nawaz have added a lot to both the forms. G.R. Nazki's Namroodnama and G R. Azad's Kahkashan are the two noteworthy works hitherto published in Qitaat and Rubaiyat both revealing precision, as regards adroit phrase and economy of style are concerned.

25.12 Free Verse and Blank Verse

There are some remnants of both of these forms in our elegy, but the polish and vigour injected in these by the progressive writers after 1947, unfold altogether a new turn particularly towards a modernity in outlook, theme and diction. Despite the tradition, its opposition, it has become a fashin with the majority of younger poets to start with the free verseo free from all cannons of prosody but the Blank Verse is not as easy a job for even the mature group. Nadim, Rahi and Kamil are the masters of technique in both of the forms, while Firaq, Santosh and Roshan have also the right to be included in the harbingers of the new trend.

As for the younger group, it is very difficult to make a choice from the host whose merit in other forms has already been acknowledged. Sajood Sailani, Gauhar, M. Nirash, Ajir Betaab, Massarar, Shahid Badgami, Farhad, Saadi, Majboor Rusul Pampur, Manjoor, Hashmi, Tanha Nizami and Reh, appear promising enough in free verse, and to an appreciable extent, in Blank Verse as well. Unfortunately all their works have remained uncompiled till now.

25.13 Prose

Prose writing has systematically begun from 1917 onwards when most of the intellectuals and men of letters collectively felt an urge to enrich Kashmiri not only in pure literature alone but in work on technical subjects as well. Various organizations sprang up to co-ordinate the literary output (in prose and poetry) in their 'official' Journals; but the Journals proved too limited for literary works of note. Nor was there any regular agency prepared to undertake publication of books without, as was the tradition till then, grabbing the copyright. With this environment, 'not even a quarter of what has been written has been printed, and even a considerable part of what has been printed, is to be gleaned from pages of magazines, now defunct.' (Prof. Kaul). Hence numerous notable works e.g. Pants Auyeen (Constitution) by Prof. Fazili; Aadam Mor (Anatomy) by Mirza Arif; Ilm-e-Mayushat (Sociology) by Prof. Soze, still await publication.

It was only in the late fiftees that the Cultural Academy (Kashmir), and to some extent, the Sahitya Akademi (Delhi) came to the rescue of local writers. The individuals maiden attempts in prose-during the past two decades proved outstanding enough to win over the Sahitya Akademi and Cultural Academy Awards.

25.14 Sahitya Akademi Award Winning Works

1. Sat-Sangar (Short Stories),

by Akhtar Mohy-ud-Din 1958.

2. Kashre Zabane-hund Illaquawad Phaira (Linguistics).

by A.K. Tak 1968.

3. Maqualaat (Critical Discourses),

by Prof. Mohy-ud-Din Hajini 1970.

Cultural Academy Award Winning Works

(a) *Ist Prize :*

1. Kashre Nasrech Kitab (A Book of Prose in Kashmiri)

by Prof. Mohy-ud-Din Hajini 1962.

2. Kashre, Adabech Tawarikh (A History of Kashmiri Literature), by A.K. Rahbar 1966.

3. Kashre-Zaban-Hund-Illaquawad Phaira by A.K. Tak 1969.

(b) *2nd Prize Winning Works :*

1. Baal Marayo (Short Stories), *Bansi Nirdosh* 1962.

2. Losmete Tarkh (Short Stories), *Sofi Gh. Mohd.* 1964.

3. Mujrim (Novel) *Gh. Nabi Gauhar* 1970.

4. Sayasatech Paar-e-Zan (Political Science) *Prof. Fazali* 1970.

It appears surprising how within so short a period, Kashmiri prose branched off to dry fields with full exuberance e.g. Sargam (3 Vol :) on musical notations, by S Abdul Aziz, Bagh-e-Arooz on Prosody by Khezit Magerebi. On the one hand, the basic books on physical sciences for laymen, such as *Wutsa Prang* by Prof. Sadhu . Tajruba by A.M. Wani and Scienasok Rang by Publications Division (Delhi) gave a fillip to the budding writers in the technical subjects, while on the other hand, Travelogues like Cheenok Safar by Mirza Arif, and Slavamir by Akhtar Mohy-ud-Din opened up new vistas for widening the scope of prose. Besides, direct translations of Classical works in foreign languages added not only much needed variety but depth and richness to the 30 years old prose. Amongst these may be included *Gorky's Mother* (Russian) by A.M. Lone, Rahnuma's *Pyamber* (Persian) by Dr. S. Ahmad, Aristotle's *Poetics* (Greek) by G.N. Khayal, *Vethe-Hend-e-Mallar* (Sanskrit) by Prof. Sadhu, *Alif Laila* (Arabic) by Prof. Mohy-ud-Din Hajini ....

As for pure prose, short story has become the forte about 50 per cent writers, though the works of even some of the mature authors such as Noor Shah, Deepak Kaul, Gh. Nabi Baba, Prof. H. K. Kaul, G.R. Santosh and H. Bharati are yet scattered in various journals only. Kathe-Manza Kath by Amin Kamil, Also by Taj Begum, Adam Chhu Yethy Badnaam by Bansi Nirdosh, Zitni-Zool by Dr. Raina have been hailed by critics as successful experiments in this form of course, besides, the award-winning creative works, referred to above. Even collections like Prof. Sadhu's *Qisas* or A.K. Rahbar's *Tabarukh* are not below the standard.

25.15 Novel

It must be frankly admitted that Kashmiri is deficient in novels; only two novels, Akhtar's *Dod Dag* (1963) and Gauhar's *Mujrim* (1969) can be adjudged as coming upto the mark. The notable translation of foreign novels include George Gorky's 'Mother' by A.M. Lone, Prem Chand's *Godan* by Roshan and Tagore's *Chokher Bali* by Prof. P.N. Pushp.

Like novels, the novelette also is in its infancy-stage. Journals, Soun Adab, Sheeraza, Koshur Adab and Nayb have recently begun drawing writers towards this branch of prose, though, in effect they appear better in essays than in the novelette.

25.16 Criticism

Till 1947, the famous poet Abdul Ahad Azad alone had the cheek to criticize a poet in a dispassionate manner and from amongst the Journals the Pratap Magazine alone would come to publish critical comments on celebrated poets even of Mahjoor's stature; otherwise the general tradition of criticism was confined to either hurling a satire upon or parodying a verse of a poet, and then declaring a ceasefire between the two men of letters. Within the first decade we saw Professors Kaul, Hajini, Pushp, Rahi and Firaq, and the celebrated poets Nadim, Kamil and Arif, chiseling the taste and norms of literature in prose and poetry. Radio Kashmir also contributed a lot in its regular programmes on poets, prose-writers and their works. Once the rationale was provided in criticism, literary and cultural organizations at District and Tehsil levels began evaluating the critical canons in the East and in the West both of classical and modern ages. Almost all Collegs and Higher Secondary Schools have now assigned a permanent section in their magazines for criticism of Kashmiri literature. M. Y. Teng, Faroque Nazki, S. N. Zutshi, Saqi, Lone, Rahbar and Khayal have also aded a good deal to criticism during the two decades. Prof. Hajini's 'Kashre Nasrech Kitab' and 'Maqualaat' contain some articles on this subject, while Prof. Kaul's 'Studies in Kashmiri' is the finest work on the literary criticism written in English till now.

25.17 Drama

Drama in Kashmiri had touched a high pitch in Sultan Zain-ul-Aabideen's time (1420-70) when Bhodah Bhatta wrote his Zaina Villasa, and when the stage-plays enjoyed royal patronage. The contemporary historian, Srivara, reports in his Zaintarangni that an actress singer could depict 49 emotions in her dancing as harmoniously as the musical cadence demanded. Sultan Hassan Shah surpassed all his predecessors in synthesizing the local fine arts with those of the Iranian and Indian prototypes. Drama, as a distinct branch of literature, though mostly preserved in verbal transmission, continued flourishing till the fall of Chak dynasty in 1586 A.D. With the advent of foreign rule, decline in all forms of Kashmiri literature was quite an expected misfortune; consequently the folk taste had to survive through the professional bards, who in their turn reduced the stage drama to a clumsy performance in the open field. The Banda-Jashan became 'a sort of open air village folk-theatre managed by companies of professional players or ministerels depicting social ills and bureaucratic-tyranny, rarely alluding to some historic theme such as in Darza Pather. This degraded practice continued till the present century, when Nand Lal Kaul wrote ***Satech Kahawat*** (The Touch Stone of Truth) and three other less known plays ***Ramun Raj*** (Regin of Shri Ram), ***Paz Pativarata*** (Savitri) and ***Dayun Lol*** (Devotee's Affection). These were over-Sanskritised in diction. After him, Tara Chand Trissal (d. 1948) wrote ***Premech Kahawat*** (1938) and three minor plays ***Akanandan***, ***Ramavtar***, and ***Pazech Kahawat*** with the same mental background as that of Nand Lal but in simpler diction till Mohi-ud-Din Hajini, while a college student wrote in 1939 his '***Grees-Sund Ghara***' (The Peasants Home), the first three act play in Kashmiri on Shakespearean pattern, depicting faithfully the social norms and exploiting agents in Kashmiri. It is probably the only work in prose selling in 3 editions within 5 years. In 1947 Kashmir became the war area, and the State was actually partitioned. Kashmiri writers also fell into two camps separated by the detested cease-fire line. The Radio Dramas in the two regions of Kashmir were first converged on the exigencies of propaganda rather than on canons of art. 'Kune Kath' type of plays in Kashmiri fall under this category. However, the young playwrights asserted themselves and began writing seriously. Of the 350 old drama features, reported by J. L. Kaul to have been broadcast by the Radio Kashmir till the end of 1967; a sizeable number merit publication, but have not been published. Heaven knows why? Similarly the works of playwrights living beyond the ceasefire line (Thus Banhali, Naaz Kulgami, Ahmad Shamim, Masood Tabassum etc. are not available in the market for assessment; hence it will be too just to evaluate them in absence, or to adjudge the worth of such other playwrights on the basis of skits, features, Radio Plays broadcasted now and then on either side of the ceasefire line. D. N. Nadim's ***Neki ta Bad***i (Good and Evil)

Kamil's *Habba Khatoon*, Wali's *Zoon*, Akhtar's *Naste-Hynd Swal*, are some of the first mature attempts during the fiftees. The two operas Nadim's *Bomber* ta *Yamberza*l (1953) and Kamil's *Bombur ta Lolar* (1961) are in fact the finest pieces in the form. One of our celebrated legends *Heemal Nagiray* has been woven into two forms, an opera by Roshan and Nadim, and a five act play by Pandit J. L. Jalali, the latter coming upto the standard at least in the theme, if not in dramatic technique. Some plays like Bhara's *Supnavasudatum* transalated by N.K. Sharma are yet to be published. The Academy of Art, Culture and Languages has since 1958, been organizing play competitions every year and awarding prizes for play writing, production, acting and also staging the prize winning plays in the Tagore Hall. *Yiti Chhu Banan* (This too happens) by M. S. Butt, 'Research' by Pushkar Bhan and Som Nath Sadhu, *Taqudeer* by Mohd Subhan Bhagat, *Taqudeersaaz* by Ali Mohd. Lone, *Hawas* by M.L.Kemu have successfully been staged in the Hall.

There are now a number of classical dramas translated into Kashmiri under the direction of the Sahity Akademi Delhi, Tagore's Mukta Dhara by A. M. Lone, Red Gleanders *(Wozel Gulala)* Malini, Sacrifice and Chandaliker by Noor Mohd, Roshan's *Dhak Ghar* and *Raza-ta-Raane* by M. A. Kamil, *Sontuk Abgath* by Mirza Arif, Ibson's Ghost (Tsay) by Akhbar Mohy-ud-Din, and Wild Duck *(Thuj)* by Somnath Zutshi. Independent attempts to translate foreign players are also worth with the mention i.e. Shakespeare's Othello by Nadim, and Julius Caesar by Naji Munawar, Tagore's Chitra, and Goldsmith's 'She Starts to Conquer' by A. K. Rahbar, are, besides, some of the precious additions to our dramatic literaure. Despite the Technical drawbacks, a number of plays staged by the Bhagat Theatre Akingam (under the directions of M. L. Kemu), and the *Hero Machama* and *Waktuk Lukman* by Pushkar Bhan have been presented well on th stage. Prof. S. L., Sadhu's *'Birbal'* is a historical play, the first attempt in the form, but neither sublime in theme nor viable in style.

Though there is a long tradition in almost all higher educational institutions to stage plays written in Urdu or Hindi and occasionally in Kashmiri and though we have a number of playwrights engaged in writing one act plays, skits and shadow plays, it must be admitted that 'most of these make a contribution more than to drama' (J. L. Kalu); and that is why the numerous plays staged by various Dramatic Clubs before 1947, remained confined to social reform or local mythology, and could not raise the level to the artistic standards. It in only after 1960, that we find the balance gradually turning in favour of maturity in thought, and eloquence, freefulness and economy in diction.

[Reproduced from, "The Literary Heritage of Kashmir," (1985) Edited by K. L. Kalla, Mittal Publications, Delhi - 110035]. The author besides having been a Professor is Kashmir University, has been Sahitya Academy Award winner, (1970), for his prolific writings.

Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

26 Pearls of Mystic Poetry in Kashmiri

Opinder Ambardar

Kashmiri is the most prominent language of the J&K. state, which has a vast and a rich literature of its own. Mystic interpretation is quite evident in Kashmiri poetry, the main focus being on the realisation of the Absolute Self. The mystic poetry in Kashmiri has an indescribable spiritual charm of its own, which gives a wonderful feeling of joy and utmost exhilaration to a reader.

The book 'Mahanay Prakash' by Shatikanath is perhaps the earliest work in Kashmiri in the Sharda script. It comprises of ninety four stanzas and all of them are based on Shavite philosophy.

Chronologically speaking, after Shatikanth, Lal Ded (1339-1400 A.D.) is the first saint poetess of Kashmir; who ushered in a rich literary period in Kashmiri poetry. Lalla was a saint philosopher, who had Sidh Boi, an eminent Sanskrit scholar of that time as her Guru.

Lalleshwari, commonly known as Lal Ded is credited to be the first and supreme exponent of the mystic experience in Kashmiri poetry.

She has left an everlasting impact on the spiritual, cultural and everyday life of Kashmir. Her poetry is an excellent treatise on the indigenous Trika philosophy, which is in the form of mystic verses called 'Vakhs' (a derivation from Sanskrit 'Vakhayan').

Her 'Vakhs', which are poetic compositions of four or sometimes more than four lines, are full of mystic excellence with a spiritual depth and clarity. Lal Ded's verses usually called as 'Lalla Vakhs' are an assertion of her personal spiritual experience and divine grandeur. The Vakhs speak of her communion with the absolute truth called 'Shiva' or God, which Lal Ded says can be realised not by penance but by leading a life, which is simple and free from desire and greed.

"Passionate, with longing in my eyes, Searching wide and seeking nights and days,

Lo! I behold the Truthful one, the wise."

Her poetry is replete with her total identification and rapport with the ultimate Truth and Supreme Reality, that is Shiva.

"Ardous it is to seek the Truth and God, Artificial discipline or knowledge profound suffice not, Absorbed in scriptures, very hard one may A communion one can't have, a scholar if one be."

Lal Vakhs preach equality, tolerance, universal love, harmony and brotherhood irrespective of caste, colour and creed. The following mystic verses bear testimony to her spiritual experience.

"I, Lalla, entered through the garden of my soul,

Lo! I saw Shiva and Shakti rolled in one, Overwhelmed with joy, I got immersed there itself."

"If thou art wise, get inside,

Shiva is there, do not go anywhere. Friend, put thy trust in my word."

Lalla was a true Shaivite both in thought and practice. As for her, Shiva is the supreme reality beyond all conceived.

Says, she :

"What to offer you in worship, you are the sky, you ae the earth, you are the air, the day and the night."

She makes a frequent reference to Shiva in her mystic verses and openly speaks of her emptiness, while towing the lifes' boat all alone.

"I, with a rope of loose-spun thread am towing, my boat upon the sea,

Would that God hear the

prayers that I have said?

Will He safely overcarry me. Like water in cups of unbaked clay,

I run to waste, Would God, I were to reach my home."

Lalla in her 'Vakhs' implores upon us to listen to the inner voice, which alone can guarantee the inner peace and tranquility, for she firmly believes that realization of the self is synonymous with the realization of Shiva.

"My Guru gave me but one percept, From without withdraw your gaze within,

And fix it on the inmost self, Taking to heart this one percept,

Naked I began to roam."

Further, Lalla says,

"Lord, I have not known myself other than myself,

Continually have I mortified this vile body,

That thou art I, that I am thou,

that these are joined in one, I know not."

The mystic verses of Lalleshwari full of Shavite philosophy are gems of Kashmiri poetry. The riddles, dazzling metaphors, finest similies and imagery are revealed in full splendour in her mystic verses.

While reading her mystic verses, even the most bruised heart gets comforted and succoured and for a while, the earthly worries and sorrows fade-away and cease to exist. There is also a perfect blending of thought and word in her verses, which touches the deepest chord of every heart.

Her 'Vakhs' speak of inner quest, inward control, self-purification, self-surrender and a sincere pursuit of spiritual perfection.

In short, the contribution of the illustrious saint poetess Lalleshwari to the spiritual literature and cultural heritage of Kashmir is unparalleled.

The saint poet and founder of Reshi order of saints, Sheikh Noor-Ud-Din Noorani (1376-1438. A.D.), also known as Nund Rishi or Sahajanand and Alamdar of Kashmir was a close contemporary of the saint-poetess Lal-Ded.

His poetic compositions known as 'Shruk' (derived from Sanskrit Shloka), preach love, equality, non-violence, tolerance and respect for all beliefs.

A native of Kaimoh village near Kulgam in district Anantnag, Nund Rishi was an illustrious exponent of the mystic experience in Kashmiri poetry. He had a mystic rapport with the Shavite philosopher and saint poetess Lal-Ded. His shrukhs are full of proverbs, parables and wise sayings.

His mystic verses called as 'Sheikh Shrukhs' speak of catholicity of vision, righteousness and purity of mind and heart. All his mystic verses are in common man's language. Nund Rishi was a vociferous preacher of a simple living, a living free from desire and want.

"Desire is like the knotted wood of the forest,

It can not be made into planks, beams or into cradles.

He who cut and felled it

Will burn it into ashes."

His verses give a wonderful feeling of spiritual experience and mystic meaning of God.

"There is one God, But with a hundred names,

There is not a single blade of grass, Which does not worship Him."

In-short, his poetry confirms Nund Rishi as a great soul, saint philosopher and a mystic poet of a very high order.

Rupa Bhawani, another great mystic poetess of Kashmir was born in 1624 A.D. to a spiritual scholar Pandit Madhav Joo Dhar of Mohalla Khanaqahi Sokhta (Safakadal), Srinagar. He was also her spiritual guru. She also enriched Kashmiri literature with her rich mystic poetry. Though, well-versed with both Sanskrit and Persian languages, Rupa Bhawani chose Kashmiri the common man's language as the vehicle for expressing her spiritual thoughts, pursuits and experiences in the form of 'Vakhs.'

Her Vakhs display a great influence of Kashmiri Shaivism on her.

"Selflessness is the sign of selfless,

Bow down at the door of the selfless,

The selfless are of the highest authority,

The kings of the time and the wearers of the crest and the crown."

Rupa Bhawanis' Vakhs are assertive of the dissolution of the self, which alone does guarantee the spiritual realisation. Her mystic verses are also full of spiritual and yogic fragrance, providing spiritual comfort to the harried creature called man.

Parmanand (real name Nand Ram), born in a village Seer near mattan, presents a refreshing contrast in Kashmiri poetry with his devotional songs and hymns. Being a highly gifted poet of Kashmir, his poetry consisting of "bhajans" and 'leelas' are recited in the marriage and religious functions of Kashmiri Pandits.

His 'Radha Soyamver', 'Shiv-Lagan' and 'Sudhama Charitra' are regarded as masterpieces in Kashmiri poetry. 'Radha Soyamver' is a valuable contribution to the devotional literature of Kashmir.

One of the famous devotional poems of Parmanand, entitled 'Amarnath Yatra' symbolises the various stages through which a devotee has to pass during the attainment of his spiritual goal. His other devotional poems like *'Kul ta chay'* (Tree and shadow) and *'Karam-bhumika.'* also merit a mention.

Parmanands' contemporary Laxman Bulbul also wrote devotional songs and "leelas". He also rendered a part of *'Radha Soyamver'* in Kashmiri. His *'Ram Geeta'* and a few of his leelas stand published in the book 'Gyan Prakash.'

Sahib Koul, a devotional poet of seventeenth century translated 'Ram Avtar' in Kashmiri. Apart from it, he has penned down 'Janma Chareth'; in which Sahib Koul eloquently dwells upon the inportance of 'Isht-Deev' and the spiritual guru.

Pandit Govind Koul has also contributed to a large extent to the devotional poetry of Kashmir. Hailing from the village Vanpoh in Anantnag district, his poetry exhibits rich spiritual and devotional depths.

Govind Koul's poetry speaks of a spiritual union of the human body with its soul and of a total and complete surrender to God.

The appreciation of the richness of nature and it's unspoilt beauty, the purity of mind and heart and omnipresence of God are the hallmark of Pt. Govind Koul's devotional poetry.

"Engulfed in turmoil; confusion prevailing, Thy mercy and thy love,

Only through these, din is gone.

The lone ambition now is, Thou ferry me across,

The turbulent waves, which took Massive threatening,

Govinda, thy mind, thy self, Grind these all,

...... Everything is thine, everything, I offer at thy feet,

I shall feel liberated and freed."

In another devotional poem, Govind Koul says,

"God it is, He alone, Who supervises the world,

Supreme Bliss comes to those, To whom, thee merciful are,

He is the guide, the master, in this darkness prevailing around.

He sustains all and guides in storms wild. Bliss shall come, concentrate on Him."

In his another master-piece poetic composition entitled 'Hosh Thav Herdum' (Be ever vigilant), Govind Koul says,

"Be virtuous, be kind, love all and this path be,

With love and with faith, remember Him, Him

Govinda, He alone shall take you across."

Prakash Kurgami is another outstanding devotional poet of Kashmir, who outshines as a translator of 'Ramayana' in Kashmiri verse. In it, he has enacted the entire life history of Lord Ram in poetry, taking help of local landscape of the Kashmir valley. The use of familiar places of Kashmir like Wangat, Vicharnag, Ramradhan, Narannag, Nunar, Brahmsar and Harmukh etc. invoke lofty feelings and sentiments while reading his translation.

In addition to Prakash Kurgami, Veshin Koul, Anand Ram and Neelkanth have also rendered the Kashmiri translation of Ramayana, though they did't attain the popularity as commanded by Prakash Kurgami.

Vasudevji was a close contemporary of Prakash Kurgami. He has written some devotional poems in 'Ram Avtar Charitar.'

Pandit Mirzakak of eighteenth century was also a great mystic poet of Kashmir, who also contributed a lot for the continuation of 'Vakh' tradition in Kashmiri poetry. He was born at the village Hangulgund, which is adjacent to the tourist resort of Kokernag in Anantnag district.

Pt. Mirzakak regards the ultimate truth as synanymous with Ram, Shyam and Brahma.

"Tas nav Shyam Sunder, Ghara chus Zagi under, ... Bhajan kar Ram Ramay."

Pandit Krishan Joo Razdan has also contributed mystic pearls to Kashmiri poetry. His 'Shiv Purana' is a superb poetic transcreation of Shiv Mahapuran in Kashmiri. "*Achhe Posh Gav Lachhi Nouv Heth*.", which highlights the union of Lord Shiva and Shakti, is an outstanding addition to the devotional literature of Kashmir.

Shiva is characterised as Chanderchood in it, making appearance in the dark fortnight and also as 'Lachhinov' and Godess Uma as Pranshakti and 'Achhe-posh.'

Master Zinda Koul, popularly known as Masterji is another noted mystic poet of Kashmir, who has an illustrious place in the mystic poetry of Kashmir. His poetry establisnes him as a firm believer in Karma theory. The collection of his thirty-five poems in Kashmiri entitled 'Sumran' exhibit a deep influence of Kashmir Shaivism, Vedanta and Upanishads in his poetry.

"He is unknown, unseen Quietly listens, sitting by."

Master Zinda Koul's poem, entitled 'Helplessness' is a master-piece, which highlights the depths of feeling and search for the absolute truth.

The 'Sumran' won him the prestigeous Sahitya Academy Award for Kashmiri in 1956.

In addition to it, Thakur Manwati, who was influenced by Krishn Joo Razdan, has also contributed some 'leelas', which were published in 'Amrit Sagar'.

Manjoo, who was a Krishna devotee, has also written a few devotional poems mostly in praise of Lord Krishna. The tradition of 'Vakhs' in Kashmiri poetry has also been kept alive by Pandit Tika Kak, Pt. Bonakak and Pt. Lachi Kak etc through their devotional poetry.

Many Muslim poets have also contributed to the mystic poetry of Kashmir. Sufi mysticism is quite evident in their poems. The said trend was set-in by Rahim Sahib, which was carried forward by Shah Ibrahim, Nyam Sahib, Rehman Dar, and Shams Faqeer. Shams Faqeer, the noted saint-poet initiated a new era in the Muslim mystic poetry; his poems have a synthesis of Sufism and Shavite monism. Two more mystic poets, Wahabkhar of Khrew and Asad Paray of Hajin also echo the mystic vision in their poetry. Ahmed Batwari also stands-out as a prominent poet in the realm of mystic poetry. His allergorical *'Nai'* and *'Indrazun Darbar'* mystic songs are also an addition to this glorious tradition.

Besides them, Shah Qalandhar, Shah Gafoor, Lassa Baba, Samad Mir, Soch Kral and Mirza Akmal-ud-Din have also reaffirmed their belief in this priceless legacy.

Inshort, the mystic poetry is a glorious heritage of Kashmiri literature.

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27 Growth of Opera in Kashmir

Dina Nath Nadim

The history of performing theatre in Kashmir is quite a recent one and that of a regular Kashmiri theatre in the modern sense, can be hardly traced back beyond the twenties of this century. But any attempt made to assess the growth or development of theatrical arts in Kashmir would remain incomplete, if it failed to delve deeper into the past and to draw plausible inferences from any direct and indirect allusions to these arts as they existed in the ancient history and the tradition of the Valley. So far as the historical evidence is considered one has to accept that it is rather scanty excepting for some references here and there in the *Rajtarangini*, and the writings of Kshemendra particularly his *Loka Prakash* or *Kutt ani Mala*. But as regards the evidence from tradition or folk lore, a lot of material which would throw sufficient light on these arts as they were then practised, awaits interpretation.

Today when I am called upon to talk to you regarding the growth of Kashmiri Drama in general and opera in particular, you would permit me to make a casual sally into the past so that we could rediscover from the past, what is not distinctly clear to us at present. I admit that such a sally could at best be based on conjecture or surmise, but with the help of these loose threads a picture, even though a hazy one, could become discernible.

Going through Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* you will find a number of references to dancers who won acclaim from both the Kings and the people for their exceptional talents in depicting the human emotions through the medium of their art. One of the last Hindu kings Harshadev is said to have been a great patron of dance and drama, and even the dancers who belonged to the laity, were raised to the positions of eminent courtiers by him. Mention again could be made of the temple dancers, who like anywhere else in the country, maintained a very great standard of their art. Read alongwith the treatises of poetics, aesthetics and literary criticism of great masters like Kshemendra, Mammata, Anandvardhan and Abhinavagupta. We can safely deduce that the dance could not have been an isolated phenomenon of cultural life, but must have been an intrinsic ingredient of the dance drama which narrated the story of Kings and dieties. The extraordinary genius, with which the superstructure of 'Rasa' is raised over Bharat's *Natya Shastra* and allied theories pertaining to aesthetics, leave no doubt in our minds that the dance and drama must have attained the same heights as of poetry.

So far as a positive reference to drama goes, it appears in *Rajtarangini* of Jona Raja and Shrivara, wherin we find '*Zaina Vilas*' and '*Zaina Charith*' mentioned categorically as the plays were written and staged then. It will be interesting to note that even before we had *Zaina Charith*, we find another Kashmiri genius, the great Bilhana writing his memorable *Vikrama Charitha*, perhaps on the pattern of Bana's *Harsha Charitha*. And in our quite recent literary history we have again Prakash Ram's *Lav Kosh Charitha* and Parmanand's *Sodama Charitha* in the same line. What is, however, important about *Zaina Vilas* and *Zaind Chiratha* is that they are the very fist Kashmiri dramas which are mentioned in the history. Unfortunately the manuscripts of both have not so far been found.

The next reference to the Kashmiri play that was staged during that period, is that of *Banaswara Vadh* which luckily is available today. It has already been transcribed into the present day Kashmiri-script by Shri Amin Kamil, according to whom it is a full-fledged opera with the '*Chhand*' the tune, for each separate song given in the next. Thus we can build a factual history of Kashmiri drama from this period.

That much for the ancient historical evidence which is sufficient for the scope of the present talk. Let me now make a venture to interpret what is extant in our tradition and folklore. So far as our folk dance forms of today are concerned the only popular one is the '*Rof*', which has usually been referred to, by those who wrote about our folk culture. This form no doubt is very much in vogue, perhaps because of its racy tunes marking the highest pitch of our very popular '*Khakkri*'. Although '*Rof*' is mainly danced by women of festive occasions or by boy danseuses in *Bacha Nagma*, it is clearly an offshoot of *Chakkri* which is a form of collective singing of both men and women. It is therefore evident that '*Rof*' must have been a dance form of collective folk jubilation in the days when singing and dancing was not a taboo. Besides '*Rof*' there are some other forms of folk dances which have not so far been mentioned very much

anywhere. The most important is '*Dambaeli*', which is a deteriorated form of collective folk dancing that has lost most of the cadence of step and lilt of music. Danced with the accompaniment of '*Naghara*' drum, and '*Suranai*' *shehnai*, it is in vogue in the backward caste of '*Watals*' only. You will permit me here a little digression, to talk about these '*Watals*' and there love for music and dance, as it has some bearing on talk today. The '*Watals*' constitute the subcaste who pursue the profession of sweepers, scavengers and cobblers. They are mentioned as low castes subcastes in *Rajataringini* as well together with '*Dooms*' they have originally devised our drum '*Watal Nagara*', our '*Sarang*' the '*Watal Sarang*' and our dance '*Watal Damaehl*'. Even in our present times our danseuses and musicians hailed mostly from this subcaste. These danseuses are called *Naag Koor* in Kashmiri which means a Nag girl. Stangely enough, *Nagiray* of the famous folk tale '*Himal Nagiray*' is also revealed in the story as *Nagi Watul.* I wonder if these people are not the descendants of the aboriginal Nagas of Kashmir, whom the Aryans, when they came to Kashmir, treated as outcastes, and who later migrated to Himalayan Terai, Nepal and on to Nefa. Interestingly enough, the people in East Bengal and borders of Nefa, have a dance similar to our *Dambaeli* and they call it *Damail*. Yet another lesser known dance form is the *Weegi-Nachun,* which is common among the Kashmiri Pandit women folk who dance round the bridal circle after the bride leaves for her husband's home. The song, to the tune of which *Weegi-Nachun* is danced, is usually benedictory, but the interesting aspect of the dance is that the *Chhand* used is the same that prominently recurs in *Banasura vadh* in the lyrics woven into that tale. The other two dances of benedictory type are the *Sidda Guru* and the *Bhandha-tchok*. While the former is an "after the marriage" dance, blessing the groom and the bride, the latter forms the prologue to the folk opera-cum-ballet popularly know as the traditional *Banda Paather*. And here I come to the real folk theatre as it exists at present in our countryside. The *Banda Paather* appears to be of a very ancient origin because of the many terms associated with it. The *Bhandas* popularly known as *Bhagats* in some areas, have probably been attached to the place of worship in that area. At least this is positively true of the *Akingam Bhagats* where the institution and performance were solely dedicated to the local diety. The terms *Magnn* for *Mahaguni*, *Dirga Sutar* (present *Ladishah*) for '*Dirgha sutradhar*' who narrated the tale, *mukhot* for the mast etc. testify to the ancient history of *Bhands*. The repertoire of these *Bnands* includes *Raaza Paather, Darza Paather*, *Gosani Paather*, *Shikargah*, *Backarwaal Paather* and many more. Almost all the *Paathers* are dramatised anecdotes which must have been very popular as the performance always lampooned the oppressive agents of beaurocracy. The burlesque has, however, degenerated into vulgar dialogue and ribaldry and it is only through the bold endeavours of the *Akingam Bhagat* now that this ancient folk drama is being revived in its originally chaste form. What concerns my topic today is the fact that all the *Paathers* are intrinsically folk-operas which have lost their musical chores but are even today played with the accompaniment of *Surnai*, and the orchestral squad is known as '*Kantils*' meaning 'pipers'. With this background of a popular folk opera, we can be able to assess the epic poems, *Ramayana*, *Shiva Lagna*, *Sodama Charith*, *Radha swayamvara*. *Gulrez*, *Akanundan* and *Himal*. All these narrative poems are interspersed with songs and dialogues in verses and can be safely rackoned as operas in the tradition of both. *Banasura Vadh* and *Bhanda fashan*. It would be interesting to note that Parmanand and Krishan Dass used to dance in costumes, when they recited *Radha Swayamvara* or *Shiv Lagna*. This kind of performance was called '*Tseth*' and provided the link between the *Jashan* and the *Raas*.

The story of the evolution of stage drama, as it came to Kashmir in the beginning of the century, begins with the seasonal visits of the *Raas mandlis* from U.P. and Punjab who performed in any available open space in a mohalla. These *mandlis* would begin their performance in the traditional style of *Krishna lila* and ended with the cheap ghazals in the vulgar key. As in *Bacha Naghma,* here also the boy-actresses played the female role and the performances would usually end in skull-breaking and hooliganism, because of the two vying sections of the listners. As against the *Raas Lilas*, the *Ram Lilas* were very popular and through the patronage of Dogra rulers, attained a large measure of artistic perfection. The two parties who performed *Ram lilas* were the Punjabis and Bohras. Both vied with each other in achieving excellence.

Then we come to the advent of drama played on the stage. Here also the beginning was made by the ruler. Maharaja Partap Singh, who patronized the first dramatic club, known as *Amateur Dramatic Club.* The stage was erected at Basant Bagh and the then famous plays, *Bilawamangal, Veer Balak, Chandravati* and *Mahabarat* were staged there. The doyens of the theatrical movement then included Ram Krishna, Jeevan Nath Matoo and later on Shri Chet Ram Chopra. Soon after, another batch of youngmen created *Saraswati Dramatic Club* where *Mahabarat, Krishna Sudhama, Safeed Khoon, Khoobsoorat Bala, Khwab-i-Hasti* and many more were staged. The female role, as usual, was played by boys. The plays were either from Agha Hashar or from Betab and would be performed for the whole nights. The music for these dramas was composed by a talented artist Master Hari Vilas. The metrical prose dialogues would be declaimed rather than spoken as dialogues.

The Saraswati Club was followed by *National Dramatic Club* and *Kashmir Dramatic Club.* The last performance *Patni Pratap* was staged by Kashmir Dramatic Club and the female role was played by ladies for the first time.

It was however in 1928 when the first Kashmiri play *Satch Kahwat* was staged. The play dealt with the theme of self-sacrifice of Harishchandra for Truth. This play followed the pattern of the Urdu plays already mentioned and could be classed as a verse-play, in a way akin to the opera style. The youngmen who performed in this play could not carry on for long as they became traditional *Raas Kath* or *Raas boys* a nick name which all the theatre workers earned for themselves then. Since that pioneer Shivji Purbi started performing *Raas* and *Ram Lila* in Kashmiri style in the second decade of the century, the social taboo associated with the dramatic activity spelled its own death knell rather than the advent of the cinema, as often argued.

It was however in early forties that two Kashmiri plays *Greesi Sund Ghara* by Hijini and *Batahar* by Pardesi were written. Neither of them could be staged. But soon after 1947, with the great cultural upsurge unleashed by the success of freedom stuggle, the dramatic activities were revived. The *Cultural Front,* which became *Cultural Congress* later on, started writing and staging Kashmiri plays regularly for sometime. And both on the stage and in the open air, these plays were witnessed by tens of thousands people.

It was in these crucial years of a cultural renaissance that an attempt was made at the instance of the Late Com. Dhnwantri to integrate some of the virile dance forms like *Bhangra* of Jammu with those of Kashmiri forms. Besides, a conscious effort was made to lend such content to plays which could depict the life, and voice the aspirations of the people. Consequently a ballet sort of ***Bhangra* titled *Land to the Tiller* was composed by your humble speaker, in 1949, and staged with success.**

It was however in our quest for a suitable form in line with our legacy of lyrics and popular taste that *Bombur ta Yemberzal,* the first opera in the real sense of the word, was composed and staged a number of times in the state. In this opera the whole music was systematically composed on folk tunes and orchestrised properly. The story of the opera is based on a folk-saying that the Bumble-bee and Narcissus, though in love with each other, never meet in life. Another opera *Rava Rupee* was composed in 1955 by Shri Amim Kamil but was not staged. Then in 1956 the folk tale of *Himal Nagirary* was composed by Roshan and myself and was staged. Yet another opera *Neki Badi* was composed and staged that very year. The other four operas composed by me since then are *Meghdor,* based on Kalidas's famous poem, *Shihil Kul,* based on the theme of National Integration, *Safar ta Shehjaar* and *Vyeth.* Of these four, one only viz, *Shihil Rul* has been staged last year, and the other three have been broadcast from the Radio Kashmir, Srinagar. Yet another opera *Gulrez,* besed on the famous *masnavi* of the same name by Maqbool Shah Kralwari, has been composed by Sh. G. R. Santosh and broadcast from the Radio Kashmir, Srinagar. Excepting *Himal Nagirary* and *Gulrez,* all the rest are based on symbolic technique with the Kashmir landscape serving as a live dimension to the themes. The characters are drawn from among the flowers, the song-birds, the breezes, the trees, the rivers and the lakes of the Valley. The beauty of the landscape together with the lilt of the haunting folk tunes and the cadence of soft *Rof* style steps, have to some measure. Justified the choice of this form of drama, as the one which on the one hand is rooted in traditional folk style and on the other guarantees a progressive growth of this particular are in the Valley.

With the new experiments in theatre art on modern lines conducted by many amateur clubs under the patronage of the *State Cultural Academy*, on the one hand, and the revival of *Bhand Theatrical Movement*, on the other, a sustained effort at opera composition and production is bound to complete the triangle so emphatically needed for the growth and development of Kashmiri drama today.

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[The author, (late) Dina Nath Nadim is the tallest among the modern Kashmiri poets who revolutionized Kashmiri poetry. He is recipient of 1986 Sahitya Academy Award.]

Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

28 Buddhist Themes in Kashmiri Literature

Moti Lal Saqi

Buddhism in Kashmir is older than Asoka and survived till 15th Century

The Valley of Kashmir hailed as the 'Paradise of Indies' has been a crucible of great world civilizations from remote pre-historic times down to the present day. The elements of great world Civilizations are discernable in the composite Kashmiri culture even today. It is worth noting that Kashmiris derived inspiration from all the rich and fertile sources but never surrendered their individuality under any on-slaught, despite many vicissitudes they faced during their history spread over almost five thousand years.

The Valley of Kashmir has been a cradle of numerous faiths and beliefs, which include pagnism, animism, Naga-mata, Koul-Acara, Pasupata-mata, Trika, Sanatana Dharma etc., Buddhism alone, by and large, remained a living faith in the Valley for more or less two thousand years. Though Buddhism lost its ground in the sub-continent during the Gupta period, it remained a living faith in Kashmir even in the 15th century A.D. Benevolent Kashmiri King Budshah (1420-1470 A. D.) had a Buddhist scholar Tilak-Acharya in his council of ministers. It was in the concluding quarter of the 15th century that the last Buddhist monastery was built at Bijbehara, in South Kashmir. The construction of the monastery is a testimony of the fact that the Buddhist faith must have continued even after the 15th century though the later chroniclers failed to record the fate of the Buddhist faith after the 15th century.

Buddhism made its way in Kashmir long before the advent of the reign of the Arya Raja Asoka. As recorded in the national chronicle of Sri Lanka, Mahavamsa, it was Madhiantika who converted Yakhsa Pandita and a Naga to Buddhism in the first instance. There is also a recorded legend that Kum Kum in Kashmir was introduced by Madhiantika.

Buddhism was firmly rooted in the soil of the Valley in 11th century A.D. when the great Tibetan scholar Rin-Chen-Zang-po stayed here for a period of seven years to learn at the feet of Buddhist scholars of this area. It was he who took fresco specialists of Kashmir to the Western Himalayas and got all the important monasteries embellished with paintings. It is the Western Himalayan region today which provides us with ample surviving evidence of the Kashmiri school of wall-paintings and bronzes etc. because after the 15th century the tradition of painting got wiped out in the Valley on account of historical reasons.

28.1 Various sects, scholars and Buddhist architecture in Kashmir

Kashmir enjoyed the honour of being the Prayaga, the holy pilgrimate-spot, of Mahayana Buddhism. It was this unique feature that attracted the attention of seeker of truth from far-off countries to it. In seventh century A.D. Hieun-Tseng came to Kashmir and stayed at Jayendra Vihara at Srinagar to attain proficiency in Sunya-vada in the company of Kashmiri scholars. Ou-Kang was another luminary seeking knowledge in this way. Great Kumar Jiva stayed in Kashmir for quite some time to equip himself with the command of Buddhist scriptures. Nagarjuna propounded his concept of Sunya-vada here and was stationed at present-day Harwan as recorded in Rajatarangini. The part played by Kashmiri monks and scholars in the spread of Buddha's message of compassion and fraternity is a glorious part of our history. These monks and preachers covered Central Asia, China and reached even Korea on the one side and Sri Lanka, Java and Sumatra on the other preaching Buddha's Gospel.

Tibetan Tantrayana and Kala-Cakrayana schools owe their origin to Kashmir and Kashmiris. Lamaism of Western Himalayan countries has absorbed many customs and rituals from Kashmir and Nepal. It was because of their perfect knowledge and understanding of Buddhist - lore that preacher monks of Kashmir were designated as *Khuchi Pandits* (Learned Kashmiris) in the Western Himalayan countries of Ladakh, Tibet, Bhutan and Zanaskar.

There is much truth in the fact that the title of Sharda-Pitha (The throne of the Godess of Learning) bestowed upon Kashmir is actually a gift of Mahayana Buddhism. It was during Kushan rule that Valley became a centre of Sanskrit learning. This legacy was further enriched in later centuries which resulted in giving birth to great luminaries of Sanskrit like Vasu-Gupta, Som-ananda, Bilhana, Mammata, Kalhana, Jaini-Bhatt, Kheshmandra, Soma Deva, Abhinava-Gupta, Jonaraja and Srivara to mention only a few.

Most of these scholars and creative writers had a soft corner for Buddhism and gave full credit to its merits.

A remerkable figure of Kashmir was Guna Vermana, of the royal line, who in his early years, renounced his royal entitlements and took to the monastic way of life. He preached the message of Lord Buddha in Sri Lanka, Java and Sumatra and converted kings to Buddhism. After the completion of his mission Gunavermana came back with a sweet gift to his people in the shape of the 'pagoda' style of architecture usually called 'eastern Java type'. It is known in Kashmir Parihaspora, Risi and Charbam style. The 'Pagoda' type of architecture attained great popularity in Kashmir and the best structures of yore in Kashmir represent this type. In present day Kashmir this type is still in vogue and considered sanctified buildings; all prominent shrines particularly those of Rishis, belong to this type. Though Kashmiris have made certain additions and alterations in this type (i.e. they have combined stupa and monastery in one structure) its basic form has not undergone any drastic change. The same old Chatteravali spire and square-base remain to keep its original shape and form in tact. New shrines of this type are built even in the present epoch. The shrine of Nund Rishi at Driyagama is a living specimen of it. Built only a few years back; it is being decorated now in accordance with the old canons.

Wandering Buddhist monks of Kashmir were always on the move, as borne out by various sources of history. On the occasion of inauguration of Anuradhapuram stupa in Sri Lanka, in the remote past, Kashmiri Buddhists constituted the second biggest contingent.

28.2 Survivals of Buddhist practices in Kashmir society

Buddhism has left deep and indelible imprints on the life and culture of Kashmiri folk. Though it lost its hold on Kashmir some 450 years back and people do not profess the faith, now its rituals, customs and mythology sustain their life and activities. The custom of Kashmiri Pandits keeping a fast on the eight day of every bright half-of-the moon, known as Atham (Astami) has a close connection with the Buddhist faith; on this day homage used to be paid to the Buddha and Podisattva. Similarly their offering of oblation on the occasion of Huma is made not only to the gods and goddesses of their own pantheon but also to Tri-ratna, Avalokitesh-vara and Tara. In their daily prayers they pay obeisance to Buddhist goddesses, *Varahi, Mrici, Locana, Prajana, Rag Ratri, Vajra Ratri* and others. Display of sacred relics and shrine-worship are as common among the Kashmiris of today as they must have been prevailed in the hey-day of Buddhism.

Due to its long stay in the Valley, Buddhism virtually shaped the course of Kashmir History. Under its influence two indigenous spiritual schools were born, known as Trika-Darsana and Risi order of mystics. The monotheistic trika system of Kashmir never accepted the authority of the Vedas and discarded the caste system. Its conception of Paramasiva is in fact a subtle from of Sunya-Vada. Kashmir Saivism came into being as a result of historical needs and has served as a bridge between the Buddhism and Hinduism. Kashmir Saivism inherited Vegetarianism from Buddhists and the latter had no difficulty in embracing the Hinduism to a large extent. The *rishi* order of mystics in Kashmir is more or less an adaptation from Buddhism. Kashmiri rishis, though counted Mussalmans, were vegetarian to the core. They shunned marriage and domestic chores, lived in monasteries and devoted their life to public welfare. Tolerance, compassion, mutual goodwill, respect for each other's faith, and human values, which have moulded our composite culture are marvellous legacy of Buddhism; we cherish, own and practise these values even in this chaotic age also.

28.3 Buddhist ideas in old Kashmiri Literature; Lal Ded

Kashmiri Literature took shape as part of our composite culture. The first specimens of Kashmiri language and literature are found in some Saiva works of the 11th century A.D. and *Chuma-padas* of 12th century A.D. *Chum-Samprada* as a matter of fact has been an off-shoot of Mahayana.

Sahajayana also has influenced Kashmiri poets through the ages; this was a later sect of Mahayana thus Kashmiri literature was born in the lap of Buddhist-lore. But it was at the hands of Lal Ded (1320-1377 A.D.) and Nund Risi that Kashmiri Poetry struck roots and impressed the minds of the people. Both Lal

Ded and Nund Rishi remain unsurpassed, having attained great height of literary effort. All Kashmiri speaking people use Vakhs of Lal Ded and Shruks of Nund Risi for parables and proverbs and their merit and spiritual appeal is accepted by one and all. Lal Ded though basically a Shiva Yogini has a lot in common with Buddhism, and Buddhist themes are enshrined in her Vakhs in a beautiful way. She speaks of the Buddhist Middle path (Madhyana-prati-pat), the furnished Buddhist way of life because ***it keeps us away from two extreme ways, i.e. life of ease and luxury and the life of rigorous asceticism. Lal Ded herself was a follower of this path she declares her belief thus;***

It is no use to fill the belly again and again,
you wont be able to attain any thing;
Do not follow the way of self-mortification;
It will arouse your sense of conceit.
Be moderate in your way of life,
To be moderate is the way to reach the goal.
Wear dress, only to avoid the cold,
Take food only to cope with hunger;
Listen, Oh dear one! think for a while,

You do not need to shed tears for this perishable body. She is totally against the sacrifice of animals, and puts forth powerful arguments to bring home to people the necessity of non-violence and non-injury;

It conceals your nakedness and protects you
from winter chill
It thrives on grass and Water;
Who has initiated you, Oh Pandit;
To sacrifice this living lamb for a non-living idol.
Lal Ded had great veneration for the great Buddha.
In one of her Vakhs she declares
Be he Siva, Vishnu, Buddha or Brahma
I am not bothered about the name or form
I only desire to be cured of my worldly ailment.

Sunya-vada is very close to her heart and she understands that it is the Sunya which is the origin or the source of all things. Lal Ded is the first creative writer who coined the term **"*Kainhna*"** for Sunya expressing her experience she says :

I repeatedly enquire from my perceptor
What name shall we give "that" which has no name
My repeated questioning bore no fruit
I fumbled and broke down.
Then I perceived that some thing came out of Sunya.
She in fact accepts that we emerge from Sunya
and are absorbed in Sunya :
Incessantly we come, without a break we go,
this process has no halt, no stop
Whence we come, whence we go
Sunya, Sunya, Sunya and what?

28.4 Nund Risi the great patron saint

The great patron saint of Kashmir, Nund Risi (1377-1442 A.D.) has been the centre of adoration for all Kashmiris irrespective of their faith or belief. Mussalmans call him Alamdar-Kashmir (Standard-bearer of Kashmir) and Pandits as Sahaja-Anand (in-born bliss).

Nund Rishi was a Bodisattva incarnate of his times. He not only preached the gospel of love, non violence, compassion and universal brother-hood, but himself lived a pious life of high order. He spent twelve years of his early life in a cave in meditation and when he came out, he composed a long poem Buddha Carita (life of Buddha) now lost. However a few fragments of this long poem are preserved in

some Rishi Namas (talks of Rishis). He is believed to be the founder of Rishi order of Kashmir, although we come across references to some ancient Rishis in his longer poem who were his forerunners. Nund Rishi's love for living beings and his firm faith in non-violence and non-injury is proverbial. His compassion and piety has been a source of inspiration for those who followed in his foot-steps. He made his Shrunks (Shaloks) the vehicle of his Risi philosophy and his way of life. As literary figures and mystics both Lal Ded and Nund Rishi are the founders of Kashmiri culture and spiritual renaissance. Stressing his faith in non-violence the latter says :

Do not slay this innocent lamb,
You slay none else but the universal soul,
understand my word of initiation.
All these forms are but the sparks of the ultimate.

He sees all life as a part of one universal self projecting itself in countless forms. He was all love and compassion for the living beings and saw life throbbing in all the objects of nature. It was this intense respect and love for life which made him to give up the food of green-vegetables, to live on milk for some time and in the last phase to sustain himself simply on water, which brought him the title of "Salil-hara-Rishi" (the water-sipping saint). Lamenting the cruelty practised in his times he says with a heavy heart :

They kill that very rooster
Who reminds them that time is running out;
that rooster will not weigh more than a seer
and half;
Where such treatment is meted out to an
innocent being
Great God, I shall not be born there.

This **shruk** also gives clear evidence that he was believer in re-birth or transmigration of souls. Once he was passing through a wood and saw maidens plucking spurious vegetables. Moved to tears he addressed them thus;

Why do you pluck these tender vegetables
Why are you after this green attire of mother
earth
Why do you forget thereafter,
Where you have to render the account of
your deeds.

It is to be noted that **shruks** of Nund Rishi are the vehicle of the teachings of his mystic order. One cannot understand the basic, spirit of the Rishi order unless one has developed an insight into his poetry. Kashmiris read his **shruks** with great reverence and say it is the holy Quran in Kashmiri, just as Masnavi Maulana Rome is called the holy Quran in Pahalvi i.e. Persian.

28.5 Kashmiri mysticism - Sunya Vada

The under-current of Buddhist thought and themes never ceased to influence the Kashmiri mind at any time particularly with mystics and *Darveshes* of the land. The most influential concept which moulded the thought of Kashmiri mystics is Sunya Vada. As referred to earlier it was Lal Ded who coined the term "Kainhna" for Sunya, as early as the 14th century. Since then this term appears in our mystic poetry again and again and has attracted the attention of today's mystic poets also. In Kashmiri, mystic poetry constitutes the richest treasure and in its thought-content and statement of spiritual experiences it has enough to quench the thirst of seekers of truth.

All our epoch-making mystic poets have accepted the **Sunya** as ultimate reality. There is hardly anything in common between Kashmiri "**Kainhna**" and "Nafi" or "La" of Islamic mysticism or Tasawuf as it is often called. Further all known mystic poets have tried to understand and interpret "**Kainhna**" according to their experience and perception. The change of faith of mystic poets of Kashmir has not changed their

mental world, and their inner self is still preserved in their subconscious mind their old inheritance. So far as their day-to-day life is concerned mystics are very pious Mussalmans but in their thinking and perception of spirituality they still retain Buddhist and in certain cases Shaiva approach. The " **Kainhna**" of Kashmiri mystics is sometimes nearer to *Neti-neti* (not this, not this) of Advaita Vedanta, but this philosophy had never its way over Kashmir, **Neti-neti** of Vedanta (predicating whatever the ultimate is not) is at the sametime one more elaborate inter-pretation of "Sunya".

Advaita Philosophy could not be very close to the Kashmiri mind as Trika was a dominant force in Kashmir at the time when Advaita Vedanta was gaining ground in other parts of the sub-continent. How Kashmiri mystics have treated the theme of Sunya and what its essence was according to their individual understanding and mental discipline can be inferred from some examples :

That which has no form, is encompassing
everything;
What you see is but a ripple.
Ripple by itself is not apart from the waters;
Knower of this truth is free from bondage;
(Ibrahim Shah - 19th Century)

There is nothing behind or beyond but the Sunya;
Everything emerges from its bosom.
It is a riddle to be explained.
I only know that Sunya prevails.
I am only the shade or tool
(Such Kral 19th Century)

Shams Faqir says :

Whence do you come? Whence do you go?
What name do you bear, what is your destination?
What is the essence? reveal
Compliment is a tribute to existence

Whab Khar another poet of Qadri mystic order has understood the Sunya in his own way in terms of his experience :

Ascetics resmble the Sunya
Unity is beyond the Waste-land
Multiplicity cannot enter that realm
I am amazed to witness this phenomenon.
(D - 1912 A.D.)

Another leading poet of Kubravi order **Samad Mir** (1897-1960 A.D.) sings of his perception in this way:

This cosmos is the Sunya
All our knowledge flows from it
It there is nothing other than Sunya,
To whom shall I pay the obeisance?
I heard of the Sunya and am contemplating.

A towering Sufi poet of our times **Ahad Zargar** (D - 1983 A.D.) speaks thus of his perception :

Sunya merged in Sunya
My naked eyes witnessed it
What is the cause behind this Sunya
I am bewildered to understand it.

28.6 Buddhist ideas in Kashmiri Poetry

Dhyana Marga (path of meditation) was to Buddha the real path to attain perfection reaching the ultimate. In '*Maha-sucak suta*' he has expressed his firm faith in this Marga (path). Sufi poets in Kashmir have

consciously followed this path and have stressed its importance for the seekers of truth. They preached this path with so much conviction, that their heart felt perceptions got poured out in the shape of spontaneous poetry :

Don't be led astray, follow the path of meditation
Keep mind and life-breath together
The lotus in you will sprout in glory
Be composed; you will be free from torments
Dear : Oh my dear : meditate on "OM"
(**Paramananda **- 19th Century)

Shah Gafoor speaks of his conviction in this verse :

Nothing in this world is ours as our lot,
Nothing is prize for here-after,
Meditate on 'though art that'
(19th Century)

Follow the path of meditation, understand my word;

What you perceive, keep it a secret;
those who attain are in know of the truth
Our Lord is a Sun amongst the stars.
(**Samad Mir D **- 1960)

Most of the Kashmiri poets consider this world full of miseries and misfortunes and long to be free from its shackles and bondage. The deceptive appearance of the world has not hindered their perception.

Shamas Faqir a top-ranking mystic has this feeling :

I saw mountains and hillocks ablaze,
All around there was scarcity of water
Alas, I was snared by a green path
And was caught in it.(D-1905)

Gulam Nabi Dilsoz (D-1942) is fully aware of the reality and says in a sad mood :

Make the best use of this moment;
This world is but a market-place of misfortunes
and miseries,
Another poet as man feels :
Evil deeds are the cause of defame
You cannot carry on with this heavy burden;
Every part of your body will be a witness of
your doings;
This world is not of any value to any one.

28.7 Modern poetry and drama on Buddhist themes

Master Zinda Kaul (1884-1965) is all praise for Buddha; in one of his poems he recalls :

He is here the cow or sheep, and there the
cat or tiger;
There he is a Buddha, a Shankara, or a Tagore;
And here He is a simpleton like myself
Thus has he come to amuse himself!

Our modern poets and writers have taken to Buddhist themes being very much influenced by the luminous personality of Bhagvan Buddha. They have derived inspiration from Buddhist sources here and there in their poems espousing human values. Moti Lal Kemmu (b-1933) wrote a play 'Tsay' using a Buddhist theme for depicting the undesirability of war. It is a play of unique type in Kashmiri literature.

Embodying a protest against war and its repercussions, Kemmu has borrowed freely from history and Buddhist-lore. One of the main characters of the play is Saravajha Mitra, a Kashmiri by birth, and a teacher of university at Taxila.

Kemmu has slightly amended the name of the scholar to Sarvagina Mitra so as to suit the sound palteins of Kashmiri language. The theme has been so handled that the nemesis is seen inevitable. At the end the main characters of the play are overtaken by snow-storm and are buried in it. This play has been well received by all critics and has won the state Cultural Academy award. Its Hindi version appeared a few months back.

28.8 Modern Fiction

Avtar Krishnan Rehbar (b-1932) is a known short-story writer and play wright. His well-known short story 'Niravana' brings richness to Kashmiri literature; it views the concept of 'Nirvana contrasting it with painful modern realities. It is pointed out that 'Nirvana' has lost its meaning for present-day man who goes hankering after wealth and sensual pleasure. Rehbar's story embodies his protest against the short sighted materialism of present-day man lamenting at the erosion of values cherished by our fore-fathers. This appealing story has been translated in Urdu, Hindi, Dogri and some other regional languages.

28.9 Buddhist values combined with human values

The life and teachings of Lord Buddha have inspired **Moti Lal Saqui** (b-1936)deeply who has written widely on Buddhist subjects, particularly on contribution of Kashmiris to Buddhism. He has translated a number of Jataka tails into Kashmiri. His poems have an undercurrent of Buddhist philosophy. One of his poem is 'Mrgvan' (Deer-park), in which he has dealt with the subject of attainment of enlightenment of the Buddha and has afterwards set out the chaotic conditions of modern world with cherished values lying in shambles. Frustration discontent, greed, envy and violence have become the order of the day. Buddha's message carries no weight for present-day man and that it is simply a subject of text-books now to be crammed by the students. He feels sad that no Buddha will appear again and there is none to deliver us from the shackles.

At last he left at the dead of night
With a heavy heart and distracted mind
in search of the Invisible;
To perceive Him through his vision, he
carried on austerities for a long long time;
But all this proved of no avail
He got hold of his mind,
gave up chanting of mantras,
crossed the bay of miseries on the boat
of simple words,
touched the pinnacles,
attained the state where words yield to silence.
Now No Buddha is expected to be born;
Sambodhi is a mirage in this age of ours
It is now a part of the text-books,
to be crammed by the students,
in this thick forest of human beings
(*Mrguan***)**

The poem ranked as one lyrical charm has been translated in a number of Indian languages. Modern Kashmiri poet **Dina Nath Nadim (1916-1988**) (regarded as the tallest of the tall) was the only epoch making poet after Lal Ded. A firm believer in the great human values, Nadim was in love with Buddhist phikosophy, values and the personality of Lord Buddha. It was his firm conviction that Buddha Dharma is basically a path of peace and human brotherhood. In one of his poems he refers to a Buddhist - temple as an abode of peace and tranquality. To hom Lord Buddha was a symbol of love and compassion. In one of his famous poems 'Yi Soun Dunya' (This world of ours) **Nadim** expresses his feelings in this strain :

This land of ours,
the land of peace and fragrant roses
decked with flowers and decorated with
shaded-Chinars;
It is the land of valiant Arjuna, the big-hearted
man,
Gautama the Buddha is ours,
the harbinger of peace and symbol of love
and affection.

Nadim was a progressive poet and had hardly anything to do with mysticism. But metaphysical speculation brought him very near to the "Kainhna" of mystic poets and Sunya-Vada of Buddhism. Along with his vast studies which drew him very close to Sunya-Vada, the Kashmiri poetic tradition shaped and sharpened his way of thinking. Nadim speaks with high poetic imagination of his perceptions:

This world - a crude reality very much before us
And Sunya - far far away, a vague conception
This world - within the range of experience at all times
And Sunya - just a try to understand what is what
This world - bound within the cycle of time
and Sunya - Always young without the pangs of old age
This world - An amalgam of sweet and sour
and Sunya - Colourless, a journey in the
unknown, a soundless reality.

Arjan Dev Majboor is a poet of stature and has contributed his bit in the furtherance of Kashmiri literature. Majboor is a poet and research scholar of varied interests. He has derived inspiration from ancient sources. His **Kathagur** (story-teller) is a remarkable poem bringing alive the role of Kashmiris in the development and propagation of Buddhism in the far-off lands of Central Asia, Tibet and other northern parts of Kashmir. A blend of History and poetic imagination gives depth and dimension to the poet's utterances. Majboor's best use of verse-craft and historical knowledge shows up his gifts:

The serene and sweet message of love
and fraternity
Crossed the mountains.
Nagas and Paishaches joined hands
light-houses of
new area dispelled the darkness of the past
Sunya-Vada was absorbed by Trika.

Soom Nath Veer is a poet of the younger generation. Displaying individuality in statement and treatment of themes. His poem **Yadasht** (remembrance) is a tribute to Buddha and Buddhism :

We enjoyed the pure message of the Buddha,
Carried the banners of brother-hood
Through Khutan, Taskant and Kashgar,
Banished violence,
Followed the path of piety and compassion
This Ashoke Chakra deserves your attention,
Lion and goat quench thirst at the same spot.

The message of universal brotherhood and equality of man has been the key-note of Kashmiri poetry almost for the last six hundred years. It has been a humanistic note all through with poets singing in praise of men and holding human dignity in high esteem. **Mehjoor (1885-1952**) has praised the composite culture of Kashmir in his melodious songs, again and again and has held up the brother-hood and religious harmony of Kashmir :

Hindus and Mussalmans belong to one family and one land;
Why should they go astray, why should they be averse to each other?
Mussalman is milk and Hindu is sugar
Mix the two and enjoy the sweetness.

Abdul Ahad Azad (1903-1948), a junior contemporary of Mehjoor, devoted a major portion of his compositions to speak of his belief and faith in the dignity of man and universal brotherhood. Of all the poets of the 20th Century in Kashmiri, Abdul Ahad Azad has been a crusader without equal against communal passion, hatred coersion and force. His powerful pleas for equality combined with his skill of poetic craft make him a thinker-poet. He speaks thus of the essential human personality, divorced from externals:

You were born as a human being
Where did you embrace Hindu Dharma and Islam?
Your religion is equality and fraternity.
It is wrong to discriminate between man and man.
Had the eternal been interested to keep religions and nations apart from one another
Every nation and every faith would have been provided with a separate land and sky.
His approach to God is stated in these words :
The water that nourshed Kalhana, Gani and Sarfi,
Can that water prove poisonous for you?
Your God is consoled with the temples, mosques and obeisances,
But my God is pleased with love, equality and compassion.

Despite the pulls and pressures of the times, Buddhist thought and culture directly or indirectly continue to influence Kashmiri life in this age also as it has allured Kashmiris for centuries earlier. The Buddhist influence has been a balancing factor sustaining and shaping the tolerance of Kashmiri people, who temperamentally avoid religious and communal conflicts and inbalance has harmed none other than Kashmiris as has been observed through the centuries.

Though Buddhism as a religion is no more a living faith in the Kashmiri speaking area of J & K state, its deep-rooted ages old influence is still keeping alive the nourished value of tolerance, brotherfood and respect for all faiths; which are inscribed on the subconscious mind of all Kashmiris.

[The author, (late) Moti Lal Saqi has been an outstanding Kashmiri poet and writer; recipient of Sahitya Academy Award (1981) and a regular contributor to Vitasta, Kolkata. This article is reproduced from Vitasta Annual No. 26, 1991-92]

Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

29 The Kashmiri Alphabet

Prof. J. L. Kaul

(*Editor's comments*: The original print contains some words written in Hindi that translated to unintelligent characters like U§, ø/U, etc. while doing the HTML conversion. We apologise for the inconvenience.)

Do we have a Kashmiri alphabet? Has there been, ever in our history, Kashmiri in use as a subject for study either as language or as literature? I think not. Had this been so, we should have had an alphabet of our own, no matter what the script would have been. We should, that is to say, have had a set of letters to indicate all the sounds of our language, the sounds of it which are common with other neighbouring Indian languages as well as those which are peculiar to it. It is wrong to say that *Sharada* was our script for Kashmiri, that it expressed, more or less adequately, all the sounds of Kashmiri alphabet. *Sharada* was indeed our script but it was our script for writing Sanskrit which we now, very rightly, transcribe in the Nagari script. Nor was Perso-Arabic script ever adapted to Kashmiri so as to enable it to express, more or less adequately, the sounds peculiar to our language. We have some old manuscripts of Kashmiri in these scripts, but though in some of them a few indicators have been employed according to the whim of the writer or the copyist, yet we cannot say that there has ever been, till very recently, a serious attempt to adapt these scripts to Kashmiri. That we pronounced Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic as some of us still pronounce Hindi and Urdu, in the Kashmiri way, is a different matter altogether, and does not prove the point.

Kashmiri shared the humiliation of not having its own alphabet with several other languages which, not long ago, had no alphabet of their own but which adapted one of the prevalent alphabets, introducing several unavoidable new signs or letters to indicate sounds peculiar to them. Thus was Roman alphabet adapted to Turkish and Indonesian and Perso-Arabic to Pushto and Sindhi. Arabic, we know, does not have the letters which must be there to denote sounds peculiar to Persian like ¡, or the Hindi-Hindustani sounds like these and and ; but the urgency of need made it inevitable for Arabic script to be so enlarged as to include these, then newly invented, letter-symbols several centuries before it was further enlarged to include some more letter-symbols to express sounds peculiar to Sindhi and Pushto like ¡ with four dots instead of one dot inside it to denote the same sound as we have in the first letter of Kashmiri word 'tsar', ø/U,.....; (a bug). This was as inevitable for Arabic script to do as for the Roman alphabet which most of us know only as the English alphabet but which also contains other signs and letter-symbols to be able to express sounds peculiar to French, German, and some other languages. So far as I know no such attempt has been made to enlarge the Nagari script to enable it to express sounds peculiar to other Indian languages, notably Tamil, Telegu, Kannada, and Malayalam, even Marathi; nor will any such worthwhile attempt be made so long as the Hindi Pundits of U.P. continue to have it their own suicidal way.

It must, however, be conceded that while Perso-Arabic script was enlarged to contain signs and letters for sounds other than those it needed only for Arabic and Persian, the process was not complete nor phonetically accurate. It was not, for instance, made phonetically accurate so as to express adequately all Hindi-Hindustani sounds. But scripts need not follow logic any more than language resulting in what appears to us to be a very erratic and illogical pronunciation. But we know also that the English alphabet does not include the signs and letters that, in the Roman alphabet, are used to denote sounds peculiar to languages other than English. This, however, continues to be done with the Arabic alphabet so that when one is writing Persian or Urdu, one has to write Arabic words or words of Arabic origin as they are written in Arabic, using the very same spelling, though one may not pronounce them in the Arab way. One result of this is inevitably to make the spelling of languages using Perso-Arabic script derivative and therefore difficult. For one who does not know Persian and, better still, Arabic also, writing of Urdu becomes difficult for this reason. This is so with Kashmiri written in this script where, for example, we have to write U§, ·,/U, Ê/U, Ã, §Ã/UU, Ã ,»§, not to name 'sacred' words or proper nouns. This is so also with the Nagari script though not to the same extent not because there are a larger number of words derived from Arabic and Persian than from Sanskrit (this, as regards the basic vocabulary, is not true) but

because most of the words derived from Sanskrit have been more intimately assimilated in our phonetic system e.g., üÊÊ (FÊ), ãÿÊÃÈ/U (üÊòÊ), ãÿ/U (ÁÊ), È§Á§ (§ÙÁ§), Í (§Ùh), ãÿ/U (Á¸). Nevertheless in this script we shall have to write ÷Ê, Ê/UÊÿ/U, ¸, äÿÊ, though I know that some advocates of this script for Kashmiri would not insist upon doing so. But this will not, and surely need not, be so if we write Kashmiri in the Roman alphabet where we shall write these words thus : (a) of Arabic or Persian origin *khat, nazar, asar, hakh, saph, khalath, katra.* (b) of Sanskrit origin bagavan, narayan, *daram, dyan*. In Perso-Arabic alphabet the spelling will be derivative; in Roman alphabet, phonetic.

I am not here pleading for adapting Roman alphabet for Kashmiri as more scientific and otherwise suitable than Perso-Arabic or even Nagari scripts though this, in my considered opinion, is very true and for these reasons :

(a) It has one fixed definite letter for one fixed definite sound, and vica versa an advantage it shares with the Nagari script.

(b) It has the additional advantage that it will have letter symbols to denote sounds and not mere diacritical marks as in Perso-Arabic script with its facile omission of vowel indicators (·ÊÊÃ) or even in the Nagari script in certain letter combinations e.g., · (one) but ¬ (a wing), ... · but ¬,U while in this script we shall write 'akh' and 'pakh' and the vowel a can neither be dropped nor mysteriously merged with the preceding consonant. For, Roman Kashmiri will neither be a consonantal script like Perso-Arabic nor a syllabic script like Nagari.

(c) There will be only as many letters to denote vowels and consonants as are needed in Kashmiri, making the Kashmiri alphabet a much shorter alphabet than it would be in Urdu script where all the letters denoting Perso-Arabic sounds have also to be included and where the many Kashmiri vowels have to be added on to it; or in the Nagari script even if it were simplified and shortened by removing all its vowels and consonants not necessary for Kashmiri.

(d) There would be an immense and incalculable advantage of printing and type-writing. Even if Kashmiri is written in the Naskh (and not the more familiar Nastalik) style of Perso-Arabic script, there must be at least three variants for each letter, its initial, medial, and end shapes; but for Kashmiri in the Roman alphabet we need only one shape for each letter. We can dispense with Capitalization, adopt only one script-hand form for both printing as well as writing, and not use punctuation marks like semi-colon, inverted commas, brackets, and dashes. The type machines will be very simple and simply handled while they will have to be much more complicated for *Perso-Arabic* or Nagari scripts with keys for vowel indicators above and below the letters.

(e) Its immense advantages notwithstanding, other languages find it difficult to adopt this script since tradition, long use, and availability of considerable literature in their own scripts prevent them from doing so, but these reasons cannot weight with Kashmiri because there is neither tradition nor long use, nor any literature available in Perso-Arabic or Nagari scripts. Except Mr. S. K. Toshkhani's Women Welfare Trust readers and Pandit Zinda Kaul's *Paramananda*, both in Nagari script, all that has been published has been without any attempt being made to adapt the script used, chiefly Perso-Arabic, to express sounds peculiar to Kashmiri. I do not refer to Kashmiri publications of Royal Asiatic Society, notably of Grierson, nor to my *Kashmiri Lyrics*, all of them using Roman alphabet with certain changes and additions.

(f) Where, however, no such considerations carried weight, the Roman script was adapted, among others, by Muslim countries themselves, Turkey, and Indonesia.

My purpose here is to focus attention on a fact of supreme importance viz, firstly, that, whether the script adapted for Kashmiri be Nagari or Perso-Arabic or Roman (the only more or less known scripts here), we shall need to invent diacritical marks or letter-symbols to denote sounds peculiar to Kashmiri; and, secondly, that, for Kashmiri, letter-symbols are very much better than mere diacritical marks.

Kashmiri is, what may rightly be called, a vowel language : it has not only many vowels but its vowel system is intricate. It has semi-vowels and shades of vowel sounds; and it differs from other Indian languages in having silent or nearly silent vowels (called *matras* by Hindu Grammarians) which may modify the pronunciation of the preceeding vowel, as in "Khos" (a cup) but 'khasi' (cups); 'guru' (a horse),

'guru' (a mare), 'guri' (horses) but not in 'guri' (mares) where the end vowel is more distinctly pronounced. In framing Kashmiri alphabet we need not, however, be very pedantic : We can leave these subtleties to the context as, for example,

asi on gur (we brought the horse),

asi ani gur (we brought the mare).

Nevertheless Kashmiri has an intricate vowel system and cannot afford to drop or omit vowel marks as is very easily done in Perso-Arabic characters. There it does not very much matter for there are only *zabar*, *zer*, and *pesh* to pronounce; and it is comparatively easy to conjecture which of these three would make sense and we need not include ÃÊË etc. Where however, there are two more variants each of these three alone, six in all, it is well-nigh impossible to have a conjectural or a guess script. The vowels cannot be dropped and it becomes necessary to invent letters, not merely marks, to denote these extra vowel sounds. But Perso-Arabic will not or cannot accept letter symbols for them because it is a consonantal script. Arabic alphabet distinguishes between letters ,ÊÁ§ and ÈÃU/U§ or ,UË and ·Ã not between vowels and consonants, as such, as Nagari does which is not only phonetic, but also phonetically arranged. This leads some of us to the wrong conclusion that consonants alone can be indicated by letters, not vowels which, acording to them, can, and therefore should, only be denoted by indications or U/U§Ã as *zabar*, *zer* and *pesh*, which are not, and therefore should not be, included in the alphabet chart of any language which adapts Perso-Arabic characters. This, obviously, is a wrong conclusion for two good reasons : First, that as a matter of fact, in Urdu for instance, the sounds denoted by , ·Ù in ·Ù/U and øÙ/;U in § and ÃÙ in and ¥ in ¤ÊË and ¬ÊË are vowel sounds and not consonant sounds as those of in §Ã or of ÿ in ÿÊ Secondly, it may be a strong sentiment that retains all the letters of the original Arabic alphabet even though some at least of its letters are not needed and do not express any sounds of the language which adapts the Arabic alphabet for its own use, it is a linguistic superfluity. If Kashmiri were to adapt the Roman script, there seems to be no reason why it should retain the English spelling of the words it borrows from that language but certainly does not pronounce in the English way. For example : We shall not write switch but such ,Èø, not *cigerette* but *sigreth* Á,U.

That is why the Turkish and the Indonesian alphabets do not retain the letters which it does not need and the sounds of which are foreign to them. There should, therefore, be no reason why we many not look to our own convenience. Consistently with the linguistic and phonetic needy of our language. But can we do so if we adopt Perso-Arabic or even Nagari alphabet? Not at all if we adopt Perso-Arabic script and not wholy even for Nagri.

Be that as it may, all this need not mean that Perso-Arabic alphabet cannot be adopted for Kashmiri but that we must recognize, firstly, that, on all scientific and utilitarian considerations, the Roman alphabet is the best to adopt and Nagari the second best; and, secondly, that if there are other out weighing considerations (as I believe there are) in favour of Perso-Arabic alphabet, then we should not hesitate, wherever necessary, to introduce new symbols and, thirdly, that these new symbols, so far as can be, should be letters rather than mere indicators. There is, after all, nothing sacrosanct about a script, and Arabic scholars know the several forms through which the Arabic alphabet has evolved in Naskh and Nastalik styles.

This is what the 1948 Kashmiri Script Committee did, and when the script was again put before the Committees of 1952 and 1953, they could not resile far from this basic position. These outweighing considerations in favour of Arabic script may not be scientific but sentimental; nonetheless they are there and they are, at present, supreme. That is why, nearly twenty years ago, I made an attempt to adopt this very script in Nastalik style to Kashmiri and introduced, for the first time, a Kashmiri section in 1936 S. P. College Magazine, *the Pratap*, which continued till it was replaced by Professor S. K. Toshakhani's short-lived Kashmiri in International-Roman alphabet.

Late Prof. Jayalal Kaul was a very distinguished scholar of Kashmir, Prof. of English and Principal S. P. College , Srinagar. He passed away in 1986. The above is an except from his book, Studies in Kashmiri, 1968. Since Arabic alphabets could not be reproduced, in their place Nagri equivalents have

been used. Since this is a long presentation only that portion, relevant to our theme, has been included in this article.

Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

30 Stimulating the use of Kashmiri In Cyber Times

Bharat Wakhlu and Dr. Omkar N. Wakhlu

30.1 A Challenging Historical Legacy

There is widespread and legitimate concern amongst Kashmiri speaking people about the future status of their mother tongue. Those residing outside Kashmir are especially concerned; and the reasons for such concern are not far to seek. Firstly, there is a growing tendency among many young people not to learn or even speak Kashmiri, even while their parents and grandparents are able to do so. Secondly, the Kashmiri language has suffered from a grave disability, right from its "birth" : namely, it has always been a **spoken** language. The ruling elite in Kashmir always chose to write in languages that were considered "sophisticated" or appropriate for their times. Which is why, though Kashmiri was spoken by all, writings by Kashmiri scholars were in Sanskrit, then Persian and later in Hindi, Urdu and English. Only the priestly class, in order to preserve some of the rituals that were unique to Kashmir, used the script of Sharda to transcribe the language.

Much of the vast and rich literature of Kashmir, that was spread and conveyed by word of mouth, has therefore vanished. Whatever little is recorded is therefore in Sharda, Persian or the Devanagri scripts, all of which have been modified to meet the distinct phonetic needs of the Kashmiri language. Even the modern Kashmiri writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, whose numbers in the latter century grew as a result of the needs of Radio (and later, Television) relied on the Persian or the Devanagri scripts to do their writing. While this literature is as great in quality as any other, it suffers from the disadvantage of having practically no readers! Neither literate Kashmiris, who comprise about fifty percent of the Kashmiri-speaking population, nor the other half, feel inclined to read the evocative and abundant poetry, or the excellent prose that has been written during the last half century.

Much of the absence of interest in Kashmiri, even amongst Kashmiris, stems from the fact that the language is the only spoken tongue in the world belonging to the Indo-Germanic class of languages, which is not taught to children from the nursery class upwards. This problem in turn, has been compounded by the absence of a proper script for the language. Now wonder, even children who are willing, and intelligent enough to pick-up other languages, fail to make a beginning and a start when it comes to Kashmiri. These factors make the preservation of the language especially challenging.

30.2 Actions for the Future

Given this backdrop, it is heartening that a renewed and deep interest in preserving the language is permeating the Kashmiri Diaspora. There are suggestions that have been put forth for taking urgent steps to remedy the situation, and to make Kashmiri a vibrant, modern language that will meet the demands of these "cyber" times. Rapid advances in the use of the Internet and other networking technologies, will make heavy demands on the abilities of competent people to keep pace with times. Under these circumstances, preserving the richness of Kashmiri would be possible only if we, as a community, were to rise above narrow, sectarian concerns and fruitless debates on the origin and status of the language; and move decisively forward to address and act on the practical requirements of the issue.

We therefore propose that the following actions be taken :

Providing all children a well-designed and elegant primer for introducing the Kashmiri language, in the Roman and the Devanagri scripts. Both scripts are now well established and are easily picked up by all, including young, nursery-going children. With the appropriate use of diacritical marks, the Roman script especially provides an easy method to write Kashmiri. The primer would familiarize young readers with the forty-four phonetic sounds that constitute the Kashmiri "alphabet", and pave the way for a systematic process of learning. The authors have already published such an illustrated primer in the Roman script, under the auspices of the Foundation for the Preservation of Kashmiri Traditions. (copies of the primer can be had from the author or from Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta). In order to make the use of such a primer wide spread, requires a concerted effort to stimulate the learning of Kashmiri by children and adults alike. This is a critical need.

The second most important action is to make all prose and poetry in the Kashmiri language, that is either written or available in the oral tradition, available to people at the earliest in both the Roman and the Devanagri scripts. This is a colossal task that calls for a team of researchers to work in close coordination with experts. Despite the magnitude of the task it can and should be done as soon as possible. With dedication and love it would be possible for this task to be accomplished, especially in these times when there are a variety of technologies available to make the job easy and comparatively less painstaking. The need is for the kind of commitment and will be demonstrated by our ancestors, who worked tirelessly in spite of hardships and a paucity of resources.

Thirdly, over the last four decades a number of dedicated artistes and individuals have made a significant contribution to the development and popularization of Kashmiri folk music. Thanks to the efforts of many of these pioneering people within the community, Kashmiri music today is available on cassettes, CD's and can even be heard on the Internet. There is, however, a need to popularize the lyrics of these songs, which would be available in the "diaries" of many individuals/families who have an interest in music, but which have otherwise remained largely confined to small groups. There is a need to popularize Kashmiri music and lyrics to a wider, global audience, so that universal interest in Kashmiri music and culture grows among the young and old of all communities. For this CD's and cassettes of music, as well as pithy stories and anecdotes must be made popular by marketing and selling these in large volumes to Kashmiris and others throughout the world.

Finally, we must all resolve to use our mother tongue for private, cultural, and social communication. This calls for a conscious effort to familiarize all in the family with the language, and setting aside time when everyone communicates only in Kashmiri. Many families have chosen certain mealtimes to ensure that all conversations at such a time are in Kashmiri. This is a good practice and helps youngsters in the family to develop an appreciation for the language. Besides, children who are already familiar with other languages, thereby begin to notice similarities between the languages they already know, and Kashmiri. This stimulates further interest in the language and Kashmiri culture.

30.3 Supporting Factors

Since the Internet is fast becoming a preferred means of communication, it is pertinent to mention at this stage, that it isn't at all difficult to use the roman script for sending email or even chatting in Kashmiri on the Internet! In fact the authors have had the pleasure of chatting on the net in Kashmiri written in the Roman script (dispensing with the diacritical marks). When chatting with strangers who know Kashmiri, the results can be electrifying!

It is our firm belief that making the use of Kashmiri widespread and fashionable is the only way to preserve it. In the Internet age if youngsters use Kashmiri to communicate, there is no doubt that interest in the language will continue to grow.

There is still more good news in this context. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir has again introduced the Kashmiri language for all students from the first primary classes. We wholeheartedly welcome this decision. The introduction of the language in the school curriculum, will add to the vibrancy, richness and variety of the language, which is "genetically" rooted in the rich, beautiful and salubrious climes within the valley of Kashmir. It is important for the preservation of the mother tongue of Kashmiris that all those who speak or wish to speak Kashmiri, keep closely in touch with their cultural, social and geographical roots, and add value to these by their own contributions. Another heartening development is that fact that many learned Kashmiris across the country and even overseas, are taking classes in Kashmiri for those who have shown interest in the language. This is commendable, and all such efforts need to be encouraged.

30.4 Conclusions

Any child of three or younger can learn any language in the world. This is so because for little children learning a language is one of the most natural things to do. Many adults refuse to learn new languages because they are shy. The time is ripe for us to shed our inhibitions and make a start with Kashmiri. All

we need to do is to start to read, speak, and listen, and repeat whatever we learn till we get fluent. Once one gets a hang of the finer points of a language the learning proceeds smoothly.

Let us therefore not lament the fate of Kashmiri. The language will not die as long as Kashmir lives. But it may vanish, if by a comic display of misplaced collective will, we refuse to learn it or feel shy to speak it!

Let us also not debate about Kashmiri. Let us speak it, write in it and print every word of it, in Roman if we can, but in any other script one might prefer. If the vision is clear, the way ahead is bound to emerge from the thicket of uncertainty, and might even look simpler to traverse than we think today. Our collective will and resolve to move ahead on this path must be strong. Then and then alone will Kashmiri flourish and thrive in this Millennium and well into the future.

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31 Kashmiri Pandits in Cyberspace:

Kashmiri Language Script and its Standardisation

Sunil Fotedar

31.1 Introduction

In an earlier article published in the Vitasta Annual, 2000 (pg. 155-56) we detailed various activities of our Kashmiri Overseas Association (KOA) related to Internet and related Information technology. In this article I am presenting some further developments in this connection and other related information that may be of interest to Kashmiri Pandit community globally.

The KOA a non-profit cultural organization of the Kashmiri Pandits settled in the USA, has been actively involved in the Internet and World Wide Web for creating a repository and disseminating information related to our culture, history, religion and tourism. This web site carries Kashmiri music in "Real Audio" format, bhajans, pujas for several KP festivals. It also contains articles on our language, festivals in addition to the thousands of articles from several Kashmiri periodicals/journals. This web site also carries paintings by artists, video documentaries, chats, announcements, appeals, tributes and information about KOA gatherings in the USA. KOA also offers free on-line matrimonial services since August 1998. So far over 150 matrimonials were carried on this web site and about 10% have established relationship. Our expectation is that this will be the resource used by our community worldwide.

I have been managing and developing this web for the past 5 years with the help of a few dedicated KPs. It is a pleasure to mention that Vitasta Annual is also now accessible on this web site on the URL address : **www.iKashmir.org/Vitasta** or **www.vitasta.org** and we are making all further efforts to keep the subsequent Vitasta publications also available in future.

31.2 Kashmiri Language and its Script

The recent addition to the KOA web site has been Prof B. B. Kachru's book, "An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri". This addition has consumed 230 Megabytes of disc space. It took about five months to complete the project that was finished on Jan. 1, 2001. Some volunteers contributed their valuable time towards its development. This can be made available on CD which could be sold to all those interested for a reasonable fee; the proceeds thus raised could be donated to some charity. This is a step closer to preserving our language, Koshur, for generations to come. Actual conversations in Kashmiri have been recorded in "Real Audio" format, just as Kashmiri Music on the KOA web sites. The original book has two images. The URL addresses of this site are :

www.iKashmir.org/SpokenKashmiri or **www.koshur.org or www.kachru.com**

31.3 Kashmiri Language and its Script

It is gratifying to inform that a great development has been perfected about the Standardization of Devnagri-Kashmiri script and its incorporation in 1-LEAP software of CDAC (Centre for Development of Advanced Computing) Pune, in which I was also involved. We should be proud of such youngsters within our community as Shri Sandeep Bhat, Kuldip Misri and Shri R. K. Kaul for taking an initiative and making sure that a font for writing Koshur was created, based on the inputs provided by the concerned experts as mentioned herein, practically implemented and integrated with one of the products (ISM) for further integration with LEAP range. This product (ISM) can be used with nearly 15-16 applications (window based) e.g., MS-Word, MS-Excel, Page Maker, Corel Draw, Venture, Dream wearer, Oracle, D2K, Quark Express, besides Note pad, Word pad etc. Shri R. K. Kaul, who was the Co-ordinator of this project approached, after developing the modified font as required, Dr. Hari Krishen Koul, Shri Shambu Nath Bhatt "Haleem" and Dr. Shashi Shekhar Toshkhani on behalf of we four, involved in evolving a separate software for easy typing of Kashmiri language on computer and also using it on internet, to verify the correctness of the changes identified for this purpose. Accordingly a meeting of the experts was held at Pamposh Public School, New Delhi, on 19th May, 2000. The following minutes of this meeting as

published in July 2000 issue of Koshur Samachar, are self-explanatory. The experts who participated in this meeting were as follows

1. Dr. Roop Krishan Bhat, Principal, Northern Regional Language Centre (Ministry of HRD, Govt. Of India), Punjabi University Campus, Patiala 147002

2. Mr. Shambu Nath Bhatt 'Haleem', Editor, Kashmiri Section, Koshur Samachar, Delhi

3. Dr. Rattan Lal 'Shant', Educationist and Editor, Kheer-Bhawani Times, Jammu

4. Dr. Hari Krishan Kaul, Eminent Kashmiri author.

5. Mr. R.K. Kaul, Internet enthusiast and Kashmiri web-developer (as coordinator of the project)

The following transpired at the meeting :

1. The demonstration of the I-LEAP software was given with emphasis on the usage of its phonetic-English keyboard. This was appreciated by all as this could enable amateur computer users to type in Indian Languages. It was observed that for obvious reasons, this keyboard doesn't incorporate the few vowels and consonants that are typical of Kashmiri speech. In this regard Mr. R. K. Kaul explained that C-DAC is willing to incorporate these sounds, in case an authoritative and genuine list of modification was given to them.

2. The linguists (1-4) agreed unanimously that the present script used in Kashur Samachar and Kheer Bhawani Times, though popular in Kashmiri community, is not perfect and has to undergo certain modifications sooner or later. The letter received from Dr. Shashi Shekhar Toshkhani was also discussed in this regard. It was also pointed out that there is a great demand for standardization of the script, letters having arrived from Dr. B. K. Moza of Calcutta, too.

3. After deliberations, it was finalized that these vowels and consonants will stand changed as shown in the attached table.

4. Mr. R. K. Kaul will coordinate with Mr. Sandeep Bhatt of C-DAC and seek his opinion about the adaptability of these additional symbols in I-LEAP.

5. Sh. Haleem and Dr. Shant will announce the changes in their respective journals with necessary explanations, and subsequently start using the changed script in their journals.

6. Dr. Roop Krishan Bhatt in his capacity as Principal, Northern Regional Language Centre, which is associated with Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. These institutions are promoting Kashmiri langugage in Devnagari as well as in Persian script. He will also ensure adoption of the script arrived in this meeting, and also offered to coordinate with C-DAC in the capacity of a government organization.

This being a very important development, we are now looking forward to confirmation about the satisfactory implementation of the modified and computer friendly font for Devnagri script of our Kashmiri language by our community journals having Kashmiri sections, like Koshur Samachar, Kshir Bhawani Times and Vitasta on a routine basis.

For any further development or modification I offer full co-operation.

31.4 KOA, KIN and Kpnet Web sites

In addition, KOA offers a KPnet, private e-mail based information exchange for Kashmiri Pandits, as an open forum to share news and views on social, religious, cultural and political issues with other KP subscribers. Each subscriber is encouraged to provide personal views/comments about any relevant issue. Comment on the public actions of our community leaders and participate in discussions on any issue that touches our community. The purpose of the KPnet is to provide a healthy and encouraging environment for timely exchange of information, views and opinions. This is a free e-mail service to any KP worldwide but one has to register with the KOA's KPnet Administrator for this service. People have used this service to seek information, locate friends, express opinions, share news and exchange greetings. This service is also offered through the web under KPmail.

We plan to link all KP organizations together using the Internet to minimize physical distances. We offer our free services to any KP organization to get on the web and be connected through Internet. Our appeal to all the organizations is to get an e-mail account and get connected through KPnet for news and views. We want to create our own KPcyberspace where we may share information provide support system and walk together holding hands.

On the political front, pro-Pakistani and fundamentalist Kashmiri Muslims seeking separation from India have used the Internet and the web for misinformation and disinformation on the Kashmir issue. To counter this campaign launched against the minuscule KP community, a team of dedicated KP individuals, grouped under Kashmir Information Network (KIN) in the USA has created another web site. KIN web site carries information about the ongoing struggle of the KPs as refugees in their own country, the conditions that prevailed in the Valley before their exodus, their history of survival through centuries of persecution at the hands of cruel Muslim rulers in the Valley, the detailed case analyses of various KP individuals killed by the Pakistan sponsored militants and several masscres of them which have taken place after their exodus. This web site is also a repository describing the ethnic cleansing of the KPs from the Valley. KIN is recognized internationally as the top web site representing Kashmiri Pandit political viewpoints and is ranked at or near the top among all Kashmir-related web sites by several web "search engines". A portion of KIN, Kashmir Terrorism Index, has been referenced among the top counter-terrorism sites in the world.

KIN website includes the following key sections Kashmir Terrorism Bulltein. Between Kashmir and Islamic Fanaticism The Real Heroes, The Continuing Civilian Toll of Terrorism in Kashmir, Online Videos and Ethnic Cleansing Glimpses. In addition, KIN has launched a monthly electronic newsletter, *Kashmir Chronicle*, which carries current news and reviews of terror and tragedy in Jammu and Kashmir. The newsletter is e-mailed to over 750 e-mail addresses of US Congressmen, US Senators, policy makers, thinktanks, US and Indian newspapers, Canadian parliamentarians and well-wishers. We plan to add European and Indian elected officials and other newspapers to this list. The past issues of this e-newsletter are available from KIN's website.

For information or questions regarding KOA, please send the e-mail to : koausa@koausa.org and for information or questions regarding KIN, please send the e-mail to kin@kashmir-information.com

[The author has been a website incharge of KOA, USA. Kashmiri Community is indebted to him for his creative contributions of putting, Kashmiri literature, Language Manual and other information on Kashmiri Pandit culture and heritage on internet during last five years.]

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URL : http://SunilFotedar.com]

Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

32 A List of Kashmiri Journals from J&K

Communicated By Shri Arjan Dev Majboor

Year of Starting Publication	Name of Publisher	Present Position
1936	"Pratap Magazine" Kashmiri Section S.P. College, Srinagar	-
1949	"Kong Posh"By Cultural Congress Srinagar	Stopped in 1953
1952	'Gul-Rez' By Arif and Amin Kamil	Stopped in July 1955
October 1968	"Naib"By Amin Kamil	Stopped in October 1971
1972	"Anhar" Krohin Cultural Forum Kheri Pattan	-
1975	"Masha Heer Kamraz" By Adabi Markaz Kamraz (North Kashmir)	Stopped after 4th issue
1973	"VolReki Malar" By Halqa Adab Hajin Kashmir	Upto 1990
1978	"Partow" By Daira Adab Delina, Barahmula Nishat Ansari and Qazi Manzoor Delnavi, Barahmulla.	Continues
1977	"Vetheh Aagur" By Maraz Adabi Sangam, Bijbehara, Kashmir	Continued till 1990
1988	"Baavath" By Afaq Aziz and Mahfooza Jaan.	Continues
1981	"Gulaleh" By Kashmir University	-
-	"Pamposh", Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Delhi	-
1966	"Koshur Adab", G.R. Santosh	-
1950	"Son Adab" (yearly publication) By J&K Cultural Academy, Srinagar	Continues
After 1950	"Sheeraza", By J&K Cultural Academy, Srinagar	Continues

1998	"Aalow" Information Deptt. of J&K Government	Continues
1998	"Satisar" By Samprati, Jammu	-
-	"Anhar" Deptt. of Kashmiri Kashmir University	Continues
-	"Seqafat" Bazmi Seqafat Shopian, Kashmir	Continues

(With Thanks from Partow Magazine Number. Daira Adab, Delina)

Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

33 Preserving Our Identity : Role Of The Mother Tongue

A. N. Kaul (Sahib)*

The last decade of the 20th century was witness to many ups and downs for our country and its people. As a community, Kashmiri Pandits have had bitter memories of that turbulent decade. Lakhs and lakhs of our kinsmen were uprooted from the land of their birth, with their population badly decimated, partly as a result of barbaric killings by the local militants and foreign mercenaries and partly due to countless deaths caused by trauma, acute depression, mental tension and other diseases which were hitherto unknown to them, besides the accidents galore. All this was the direct outcome of forced separation from our roots, humiliation of living on doles of pittance and difficulties of adjusting to inhospitable climes of the hot plains of the country. For us, it has been an upheaval of an unprecedented magnitude.

33.1 Rising from the ashes

"We have wept long enough", Swami Vivekananda once said, "no more weeping, but stand on your feet and be men". Prompted perhaps by this saintly advice, our desolate brethren realised in good time that no purpose would be served by continuing to weep and lament over the loss of our precious worldly possessions, our homes and hearths and, in many cases, our nearest and dearest kith and kin. We had, after all, to survive somehow even in the midst of these adversities which were further compounded by total indifference to our plight by the Central and State governments, the media and the people of our country in general. It was this instinct of survival which helped us to rise once again from the ashes; build shelters over our heads permanent or temporary wherever and whatever one could afford, look for alternative sources of livelihood and, above all, continue to provide to our children high academic education and technical and professional training, which has always been our topmost priority, even when we could not afford two square meals a day.

33.2 Turbulence, a blessing in disguise

We have admittedly gone through what could be described as a churning process, opening up new vistas and opportunities for our youngsters for training and jobs in areas and disciplines which one couldn't conceive of, back in the Valley. That way, the turbulence of the last decade has been for us a blessing in disguise. Our young boys and girls have fanned out and settled in different parts of India with thousands of them having gone to far-off lands, across the oceans, to the Americas, England, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, the Middle East and also to the Emirates. Many are said to have settled in Russia and the erstwhile constituents of what was once the Soviet Union. Wherever our talented doctors, engineers, scientists, chartered accountants, business and computer professionals have gone and settled, they have proved their mettle, and made a name, rising quite high in hierarchy. They have, in turn, brought glory to their country in general and their community, in particular. We wish them all good luck and prosperity!

33.3 Mother-tongue, a casuality

In this diaspora, however, we have lost sight of one important aspect, which gives us our distinct identity and that aspect is our mother tongue, Kashmiri. We have been lamenting, day in and day out, at numerous conferences, seminars, symposia, and various other conclaves that we have lost our identity because of our having been uprooted from our homes and hearths and forced by circumstances to reside and eke out our livelihood in unfamiliar and inhospitable environs. As a matter of fact, no one can question the logic of this statement. But have we ever tried to introspect, even for a moment, as to the primary reason of our prevailing feeling of identity crisis, apart from the discriminatory treatment meted out to us at the hands of the Central and State Governments. This undoubtedly is the wilful neglect by us of our mother tongue which in reality gave us the identity we are sorely missing today.

33.4 Crisis of our own making

The identity crisis that we find ourselves engulfed in today, is actually the crisis of our own making. Who, one would like to ask, compels us to begin communicating even with our infants, right from the moment of their birth, in a language other than the mother tongue, the language spoken by the parents themselves.

This virus of speaking to our children in Hindi, Urdu or English had affected us even while residing in the Valley or outside decades before our recent exile. While most of the parents continued to converse among themselves and with other family members in Kashmiri, they would immediately switch over to Hindi or English when it came to talking to their kids. What a strange irony! They had perhaps begun to nurse a false notion that if they talked to their children in Kashmiri, the latter may not be able to get ahead in public schools or other educational institutions with confidence. Little did they realise that their own parents and grand parents who had their grooming in typical Kashmiri environs and who had Kashmiri alone as the medium of their communication inside their homes and the society outside, had attained high degree of proficiency and excellence in every other language which their interest or avocation called upon them to learn, be it English, Sanskrit, Persian or Urdu, or even foreign languages. The scholastic attainments of our ancestors are indeed legendary.

While settling in different parts of the country or in foreign lands, our children, including the grown-up ones, take not only delight but also deep interest in learning new languages, Indian and foreign, but overlook the fact that by neglecting their own mother-tongue, they are fast losing their identity as Kashmiri Pandits which now remains confined only to their surnames so long as they choose to keep them intact. No other community in India Bengalis, Tamilians, Kannadigas, Telugus, Oriyas, Maharashtrians, Malayalees, Sindhis, Punjabis and others has become a victim of this craze. They in fact take legitimate pride in talking with each other, in public and private, in their own mother-tongue. While learning and attaining proficiency in other languages, they ensure that their children do not lose touch with their mother tongue, in which they speak not only in their homes but with their friends and colleagues outside. Contrary, however, is the case with us. What to speak of children and youth, even elderly people of the community, who were born, grew up and lived most of the time in the valley, have also given up speaking in Kashmiri. It irritates to listen to such thorough bred Kashmiri Pandits talking to each other in a language and dialect other than their own mother tongue.

Mother-tongue is the strongest link which helps us and our progeny down the line to communicate intimately with each other and also to establish instant rapport with our kinsmen wherever we happen to meet them, in different parts of India or in foreign lands. It gives us a sense of belonging to our land of birth, Kashmir, and to our common social and cultural heritage. Once you come to know that the person you have met in a far off land, sports a surname belonging to your community but is unable to speak in the mother-tongue, a sense of disappointment and distancing begins to set in and all hopes of conversing on the same wave length are dashed to ground.

33.5 Alienation from the Kashmiri ethos

The direct fall-out of this apathy and willful neglect of our mother tongue has been the gradual alienation of most of our children and grand children from the mainstream of the Kashmiri ethos. They not only lack in the basic grounding of their mother-tongue, spoken as well as written, but they are also drifting away by and by from all other facets associated with this language the music, the literature, the art, the essential rituals and even insofar as their culinary tastes are concerned. It is indeed painful to watch our young boys and girls and small children gradually withdrawing from or avoiding our community get-togethers or family functions because they find the surroundings uncomfortable owing to their unfamiliarity with their mother-tongue.

For bringing ourselves to such a sorry pass, we have no one to blame but ourselves. As pointed out earlier, we are perhaps the only community in India which fights shy of communicating with our children and, of late, even between the adults, in our mother-tongue. By doing so, we are doing an incalculable harm to our identity as a homogeneous ethnic group. It must not be forgotten that Kashmiri Pandits who had left the Valley centuries ago due to circumstances prevailing at that time and settled in other parts of the country, also committed the same mistake and are now rueing over it. In total disregard of the consequences, we are compounding the mistake committed by them.

It is no comfort to hear from some of our community members that even if their children are unable to speak and converse in Kashmiri, they do understand the purport of what we talk at home. That is not

enough. Unless we constantly encourage our kids and teenage children to talk, without inhibitions, in their own mother-tongue, we cannot promote and preserve the language. Young parents have a much greater responsibility in this regard. They have to begin this experiment from the cradle itself and watch the wonderful results as their children grow up. It is high time that we listen to the wail of our sadly neglected mother tongue and take a solemn pledge that from now on, we shall converse with our children at home only in Kashmiri and no other language. You will find that in no time will they pick up the nuances of the language and begin to talk to you in sweet broken syllables. Enjoy it and encourage them to the language and begin to talk to you in sweet broken syllables. Enjoy it and encourage them to open up further and make it a point to speak only in their mother tongue with their Kashmiri friends and classmates as well. In due course, you will find that they will feel at home with the language.

33.6 Access to Kashmiri Literature and Music

Our mother tongue, Kashmiri, is as sweet and rich in vocabulary as any other language of our country. It has a vast literature, rich and interesting folklore and poetry, as also enchanting music, which unfortunately is now alien to our children. It is our foremost duty, as responsible parents, to remedy the situation even now and expose our children to this wonderful heritage of ours and bring them back into the mainstream of true Kashmiriat.

For this, it is very important that we cultivate their interest and taste for Kashmiri music and poetry by frequently playing recorded cassettes at home and invariably taking them out to Kashmiri musical evenings and concerts, which should be organised by our various Samitis and Sabhas at more frequent intervals. This could more easily be done in residential areas having the largest concentration of Kashmiri populace. Steps also need to be taken to organise debates, elocution and poetry recitation contests in Kashmiri for children and publicly acknowledge and reward their excellence. An experiment on these lines has been started by the J&K Vichar Manch in Delhi for the last two years. Staging of dramas and plays in Kashmiri language should be encouraged by harnessing new talents, with adequate financial back up, to revive interest in our mother-tongue. Musical nites need to be organised more frequently by inviting top Kashmiri singers from Jammu and Kashmir and other parts of the country to perform in Delhi and other major cities and towns. We are fortunate to have talented artistes like Kailash Mehra, Neerja Pandit, Bhajan Sopori, Vijay Malla, Archana Jalali, Vijay Kaul, Rajender Kachroo and scores of other budding young boys and girls who could be invited to give performances. These artistes must be suitably honoured with Awards and distinctions.

33.7 Problem of the script

Insofar as the written language and its literature goes, it must be admitted that after the decline of the original Kashmiri script, the Sharada, common Kashmiris, apart from conversing in their mother-tongue, had not been using the language for any written communications among themselves. Even the State of Jammu and Kashmir did not bother to adopt Kashmiri as the official language and instead promoted the use of Urdu, and alien language. Later, under the Constitutional compulsions, the Persian script was adopted as the official script for the Kashmiri language, to be taught in schools. Though most of our famed writers and poets wrote volumes in this very script, majority of the Kashmiri Pandits, particularly during the post-independence period, could not have access to this vast literature because of their total unfamiliarity with the Persian script.

Realising the gravity of the situation, it was *Koshur Samachar* in Delhi which made a bold attempt to present this vast Kashmiri literature, in prose and poetry, in Devnagri script, for the benefit of Kashmiri Pandits residing in India and abroad. Doing this involves painful efforts of the Editors in rewriting the matter in Devnagari script from the Persian script, but is being done regularly for the last over four decades, as a labour of love.

Our young boys and girls, even men and women of the older generation, would do well to spend some time every month in browsing through the pages of the Kashmiri section of *Koshur Samachar* to enjoy the fascinating prose and poetry not only of the bygone days but also the literary compositions of contemporary writers and poets, young and old, who regularly contribute to this journal. The promotion

of our mother-tongue in the Devanagri script, with minimal adaptations and transliteration signs, and the words and expressions with which we are more familiar, has been widely acknowledged. We feel genuinely proud of having made our humble contribution to this endeavour. The only regret is that while many of our non-Kashmiri friends and patrons are getting interested in learning our language through *Koshur Samachar* and other publications in Devanagri script, our own community members are not taking full advantage of these efforts.

It is a matter of joy to know that Kashmiri Pandit Association, Mumbai and lately, Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta, have taken steps to organise Kashmiri language classes for their children in which even non-Kashmiri speaking children and adults are reportedly taking interest. May be, similar steps are being taken or are on the anvil, at other places also. If not, it should be done without delay. Care has, however, to be taken that the script used for such teaching is uniform and widely understood and acceptable. Kashmiri Pandits settled overseas, we understand, are more alive to this problem than us here in India and are doing their bit to ensure that their progeny do not lose their moorings. It is interesting to know that several Kashmiri Pandit children abroad can understand and speak in fluent Kashmiri and English but do not have the same proficiency in Hindi.

Of late, greeting cards on occasions like the New Year Day, Navreh, and Deepawali have been making occasional appearances in Kashmiri language. Some enthusiastic and concerned members of the community have also come out with diglot versions of the wedding invitation cards in Kashmiri and English/Hindi. This is a happy trend and must catch on faster, not only in India but worldwide whereever our community members reside. If vegetable vendors in Jammu, Delhi and other places can offer you *sotsal, haak, monji, nadur* and *vostahaak* correctly pronouncing their original names, why can't we and our children sustain our interest in Kashmiri and thus retain our true identity.

Apart from continuing our on-going struggle for our political survival as a distinct ethnic group, and reinforcing our claim to return to our beloved Valley with honour and dignity one day, it is important that we do not lose touch with our social, cultural and linguistic heritage, if we really mean to preserve our identity as an enlightened community and go back to Kashmir, as Kashmiris and not as aliens. Let us be warned that we have no identity sans our mother tongue, our dear Kashmiri language. A sustained and concerted movement shall have to be launched on a major scale by all our organisations in the country and abroad to achieve this objective.

**** The author is the Editor-in-Chief, Koshur Samachar, a leading monthly published from Delhi. The article is a slightly modified version of the paper presented at the Seminar on "Kashmiri Pandits Looking Ahead", held in New Delhi on March 12, 2000.***

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Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

34 Why Kashmiri ? Is The Enthusiam Misplaced ?

Let us self Analyse

Dr. R. L. Shant

34.1 Who Raises The Alarm ?

A big hue and cry is being raised these days in support of Kashmiri. Articles appear regularly in our community magazines Koshur Samachar & Kshir Bhawani Times justifying preservation of this language as a vestige of the past and as an essential constituent of our identity. Ways and means are suggested as to how this language can be stopped from complete extinction in our homes. Alarm is raised in public and private meetings held anywhere in the country or abroad. Strangely, it is not the community leaders this time who underline the importance. They are busy understanding and trying to solve the dilemma of our tragedy in their own ways. It is the common people, the silent and unknown thinkers, the intelligentsia, the readers and writers, where ever they are. Our young bureaucrats, professionals, technocrats scattered all over the country and abroad seem to be in an unwritten agreement on the importance of Kashmiri language for us.

It is significant that members of our community living in the West seem to be taking the lead. Their full hearted appeals to their compatriots here ask for help in the preservation of the language in homes and mohallas for intimate communication. The appeals have come over the internet. The NRKs are coming forward extending their help, technical and financial. On almost the same lines, Kashmiris, residing far away from Kashmir (infact Jammu) are more curious and enthusiastic to devise ways and means of making this language popular among ourselves. People away seem to have risen more to the occasion than people nearer home.

34.2 Is It A Corrective Measure?

This is like a clamour to say the least. If this sudden spurt in favour of the mother tongue is monitored, recorded and analysed it will clearly look like a deliberately planned effort of a displaced community crying for a remedy to some cultural ills. So it is given out to be. Resumption of Kashmiri is suggested as one of the best corrective measures to bring our self confidence back. Let us muse over why it is so.

Since that fateful year of our permanent dispersal, we had been realising by degrees that the chances of our going back to our land are receding, given the myopic vision of our governments and the cunning doublespeak of the majority community in the valley. So a reflective mood started catching hold of us. Of the many rallying points where we converged, Kashmiri language seemed to be one. The case of the mother tongue as a refuge has since been taken up with full gusto.

34.3 Were The Earlier Migrants Less Careful ?

Let us analyse dispassionately the situation as it is obtaining now. Kashmiri, no doubt is the mother tongue of the majority of us wherever we are in the present diaspora. But let us not over look a fact, however unpalatable it may be. Over the last five or six centuries Kashmiri has ceased to be the mother tongue of so many of us may be about a lakh. (One lakh out of a total of five to six lakhs is a number that can't be neglected or overlooked. For the constraints on and difficulties felt by these people have to be kept in view to make our analysis objective oriented). Those who were hounded out of the valley or those who left according to their own volition during the times of the Sultans (Sikandar '*butshikan*' & after), the Moghuls (Akbar and his heirs) & the Pathans and settled down right from the inner valleys of Kishtwar, Doda, Bhadrawah, to the cities of Amritsar, Delhi, Jaipur, Lucknow, Allahabad, Calcutta and Bombay, left their language behind for new languages of their hosts and by their intelligence excelled in them. Like in Kashmir, most of them sought jobs with Persian and Urdu speaking or patronising Muslim rulers, carved a niche for themselves and rose to being registered as super class speakers of the official tongue. That they seldom owned native dialects instead, is a moot point but is of no concern to us in the present context. Anyway, they held that Kashmiri was ceasing to have any importance in their new set ups.

It was neither the language of their employer (and employment) nor at school nor in the neighbourhood. For them maintaining language links with those staying back in the valley (or those who returned by and by over the years) was impossible given the ravages of time and distance separating them. And they knew that more and more exoduses were in the offing. What happened as a result was that history, culture and language became things of less importance to them. They surely carried some religious ceremonies (along with some culture specific vocabulary) with them, but the delight derived out of the celebrations decreased as was sure to be in diaspora, in the absence of homogeneous ethnic congregations. One can imagine the differences in the delight and rejuvenation they would feel if they had stuck to the use of Kashmiri, which carried for them permanent features of cultural renaissance viz. mystic and folk poetry, religious and devotional lyricism and a wealth of idioms and proverbs that serve against any alien cultural onslaught. Hence, they thought that linguistic identity had little to do in the development of personalty and growth of a community. To be fair to them they did try to maintain their family names (which, unfortunately, are called 'castes' or 'zaats') and refrained from intermarrying with non Kashmiri Pandits, though that was not sufficient. Perhaps they could not amalgamate totally with (in) the tight-caste-Hindu structure all over India and were constrained to live as a group, though distinct in name only. They did not take any lesson from their Bengali or Tamil neighbours while in Delhi or the Gujarati or Telugu neighbour while in Bombay, who mastared local Hindi and Marathi respectively but used their mothertongues in order not to be cut off from their roots.

34.4 Do We Surrender Our Pride ?

Such is, unfortunately, the tendency among us even now. A friend's sircastic remark that we are in for having our grandchildren as Kannad or Marathi or Assamess speaking no matter if their mothers or fathers (i.e. our daughters or sons respectively) are Kashmiri speaking, because our children are sure to readily surrender their pride, their ethnic distinction to their spouses in the new dispensations seems to be coming true. Our history of compromises that started taking roots centuries ago is repeating itself in a new *autarhood*.

34.5 Whose Responsibility Is It Anyway ?

If this is the condition we find ourselves in, do these cries of saving Kashmiri, as the last instrument of saving our much eroded identity, not seem God inspired ? Perhaps the last exodus seems to be pulling us out of slumber. It seems that in a decade of mind churning we have understood and have come to appreciate the value of the heritage of Kashmiri. Today the world is changing faster than it ever did. We realise that the winds of change will pull our last roots (that of the mother tongue) out that bind us to a 5-millenium old history and culture. That will completely annihilate the last mark of our identity. We are facing total disregard by an insensitive Government. Previous exoduses cut away the fleeing groups or individuals from the majority who returned to their homes. This exodus is doing the same in a harsher way because nobody is returning. The onus of preserving our identity is on one and all, be they in Jammu, Delhi or Calcutta, may they have fled in the 18th century or in 1990.

34.6 Are We Highflying Birds Without Wings ?

Many amongst us argue that 'to survive' we have to be 'the fittest.' Rightly so. But how can we be considered fit without a fit and healthy genetic (read cultural) structure well nurtured by the best nutrition for culture i.e. language. If we compromise with our health in order to survive we will be cheating ourselves and our future generations. Recently an England-settled son of a very well known educationist (a muslim) in Kashmir, complained to his father about pushing him (the son) to fly in rich and fragrant skies of England without wings, for these were not allowed to grow (his mother tongue was never taught to him though he had mastered English fully while in his teens).

34.7 Is It The Only Distinctive Mark ?

Our genius in being Kashmiri Pandits first and good technocrats, doctors, scientists or professors last. A Kashmiri Pandit is the truest Kashmiri, for he preserved the best of the race without subjugating himself to religious or cultural changes over the centuries. But he is Kashmiri only till he speaks Kashmiri and

keeps revitalising himself with its life force. He must learn the language now if by any historical travesty he was forced to abondon it, no matter if his fathers knew none of it. He must maintain it inside the precincts of his house if he can't do so outside. All Bengali boys and girls do not read Bengali literature while staying in Bangalore or Bombay. But they speak the language among themselves. That is what makes them Bangali and what keeps the "*Bonglar gaurab*" alight in their minds. No matter if our boys do not have time or reason to read Kashmiri books. But they shall keep their distinct genius alive if they can converse among themselves in Kashmiri. Afterall that shall be the only mark or quality of distiniction with them, other things remaining same.

34.8 Are We Like Driftwood ?

It is for this reason that we have to keep fuelling this sense of urgency in reviving ourselves, this wave of resurgence that we referred to at the outset. We are fortunate that the wave is real. We are thankful to those living as far as the UK or the US who write to us to prepare Kashmiri readers for them and their children. We have reached a stage where we can't afford to cut our roots and yet feign to be standing erect. We have to call a halt to those who offer themselves to non Kashmiri identities. Otherwise we are doomed. That time may not be far away when we shall be maintaining the highest standards sans the knowledge and pride of our roots. The enthusiasm of some of us to inspire love for our language in us has not flowered sooner than desired. If we do not listen to their clarion call now we will be reduced to non entities. We will be like blocks of driftwood which are valued for their decorative value and for their inability to grow because the information about their genes lies dead in them.

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35 How to meet the threat of Extinction

V. N. Drabu

A community is recognized as a distinct cultural group by the life style it maintains through the ages. Whatever the level of its progress, it is known by the language or dialect it speeeks, the common traditions it shares and the way it reacts to social environment around it. There are instances of numerous communities which, with fluctuations in their political and economic fortunes, have preserved the basic structure of a distinctive social personality, the ideas and beliefs which differentiate them from other particular groups. The Sakas, the Parthians, the Yuechis, the Kushanas, the Mings, the Shans, the Magyars etc., in their transition from a tribal stage, maintained their distinctive characteristics as a community and made rich contribution to art and literature, absorbing and assimilating what ever came their way. In such a process the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Bactrians passed on a rich legacy to their posterity in the form of Greek art and mythology, the impact of which is also quite discernible in the art and architecture of Kashmir.

Perhaps the most illustrative example would be that of the jews who in the course of thousands of years of persecution, have succeeded in keeping the basic structure of their community in peace. Their diaspora has steeled their will and determination to maintain an untarnished image of their community. They have preserved their straight forwardness and honest approach to work, confident of their service record to their community and the will to maintain their individuality. They have revived their lost heritage and reinstated Hebrew as the language of their ancestors in the land they could reclaim only after a protracted and agonying struggle of centuries of sacrifice and suffering. They have a history, a tradition, a heritage worth emulation by others who have suffered a similar fate under varying historical circumstances. The few adapted themselves to changing social environment and have admirably succeeded in being the same specific persons or things. His individuality is recognized all over be he an American patron or his erstwhile German persecutor. His achievement has come in moments of adversity and gloom. The history of a Kashmiri Pandit is no less romantic. A sage of perpetual persecution and discrimination that he has suffered through the centuries like the jews who suffered the atrocitis, being subjected to "genocide" of an unparalled magnitude in human history. He has maintained the cultural heritage of his ancestors under most trying circumstances. For how otherwise are we to account for the rich legacy he has left for us in the form of fine arts literature, music, art, architecture, religion and philosophy; an assessment of which is beyond the perview of this paper. Our immediate concern being how best to preserve what we have lost through the forced exodus and the threat of ethnic cleansing under the brute might of theo-fascist forces aligned with the ugly fundamentalist monsters, out to demolish and destroy our very existence and the very fabric of a civilised society. The threat is real and not imaginary; the consequences are alarming. A whole community is held to ransom by the terrorists. The very individuality of a Kashmiri Pandit is at stake. Were this trauma to continue for a decade or two more, we may be totally lost in a sea of oblivion. We have to rise and face the scourge of terrorism with fortitude and courage. There can be no place for complacency or negligence. No soft options can pay. We have to devise a careful strategy of resistance and survival like the jews.

Imagine a situation where you are asked to develop a region as your homeland for the displaced persons of your community. What will you do? With your given infastructure and availability of people, you would naturally work closely with doctors, teachers, engineers and make their expertise more handy. You are not in an isolation camp. Unless you connect people and places to important cultural centres around, you will lose. When you are entering into joint ventures, you need a common channel of communication, so that all of you feel at home. This is true of all communities sedentary or moving. A Bengali, a Punjabi, a Tamil, would of course, converse in their mother tongue even while engaged in their manufacturing or information technology or travelling abroad. Whatever their area of specialisation, a background of their mother-tongue surely helps in their background of physics, chemistry or engineering. All the university education, when applied to practical training, would definitely look to the comunication problem to make its application effective and result-oriented. Be it the science of transmitting data, hi-tech entreprenial

ventures, you are vertually using your own mother tongue which links you to all areas of work. The importance of ones' mother tongue thus cannot be underestimated. Mentally and emotionally too, the use of a honoured dialect or language affects the quality of life and that of the work too. No one can dispute the utility or confidence that your own mother tongue can thus generate.

But being the "*glamour junkees*" that some of our women pretend to be, the message that they receive from the cultured elite is that it is not attractive, to have your own dialect as a medium of communication with your own children or members of the family that constitutes a small social group. In fact, thousands of our women are spending a serious amount of time and money to cultivate the use of a non-Kashmiri dialect at home and in other social circles, considering it as the badge of high-breds. They little realize that they have not been able to coin a sufficiently rich vocabulary to replace the names and labels associated with their cultural milieu of , for instance "*thal barun*" (to have a plate of rice filled with flowers and other auspicious symbols for the coming spring), "*Zangtrai*" (get together of women on this date), "*hora ashtami*" (the eighth day of cleaning for Sivaratri), "*Vanavun*" (chanting of mantras for the marriage), "*Kaw punims*" a day dedicated to crows on full moon-day), "*mas muchrun*" (preparing the birds for marriage), "*rinda*" (the darling), "*madan*" (the beloved), etc.

These are still retained as emergency tokens for certain rituals which, with the passage of time may either get lost or be totally forgotten as the components of our rich culture. How unrealistic it looks to continue a borrowed idiom with words and roots bearing an altogether different connotation. However, when "looking good" we really look ridiculous in a dialect we are gradually immitating without knowing its essence and the background. Over exercising and fretting about an idiom not our own, can take quite a battering. Just imagine the super-ways look, beloved to the catwalk, is possible if a woman totally abandons her life-style. By disowning our dialect we take to a dialect we scarsely understand with all its metaphorc similies and slang. We fail to express the indepth feelings of our heart.

A small community of Sikhs, at home and abroad, continues to maintain its identity and holds on to its language dialect. This reflects its urge for its identity despite the poor arithmetic of its numbers scattered in isolated pockets. Unfortunately, the diaspora of the Kashmiri Pandits has created a perplexing situation for its sympathizers and critics who find it difficult to pass an educated and sound judgement. Hounded out from their hearth and homes, huddled in most unhygienic camps, deprived of a dignified living, the Kashmiri Pandit has tenaciously held on to its cultural moorings. Not surprisingly, the critical inhospitable terrain and hostile environment has thrown a challenge the magnitude of which baffles everyone. And still at the centre of this rugged landscape, the Kashmiri Pandit has demonstated his will to survive; looks for beauty and symmetry, for qualities of vision and redemption. The blacker the situation, the deeper the background of despair. Despite so many odds, the Kashmiri Pandit constitutes an adhesive ethnic group. His continuing love with the Himalayan skies and landscapes has aroused in him the deep and intense urge to rehabilitate his places of pilgrimage and the legends associated with them. But what is most essential to impart meaning to his traditions and the past has been taken from them through his rich past, is to restore their memories and recover what has been taken from there through his rich Kashmiri mother-tongue. Though there are just too many gaps caused by a life of poverty and displacement, concrete measures could be taken to maintain the community character of the Pandits in exile.

Banished from his land of birth and indignantly critical of the dubious laws of the state to 'restore him to his place of birth with honour and dignity', the first and the foremost need of the hour is to plan the construction of colonies on a large scale through our own resources and the largesse received from abroad. This would undeniably fill in the "placeless void" of a community deprived of its history and identity. It could be just a sincere effort to write themselves back into history, to preserve traditions when the past cannot be remembered. What would make them feel very close, or to whom I would like to feel myself close, but also too close is the proximity like to such centres and periodic contacts. Discounted by its own history, a K P would seek to imfatuate himself through a heightened sense of geography. And the foothills of the panoramic Himalayas in various sectors could be an ideal choice for their settlement and rehebilitation.

But the question that remains is how to stave off or prevent the chaos arising from the dispersal of a microscopic community that commands no vote bank or political mileage. Caught dispersed in an alien soil (with no geographical similarity between the Alpine land and the plains below) he finds himself a stranger between two seemingly dissimilar cultures, though rooted in a common Vedic and Agamic base. The Expressive Dilemma that may be seen in the context of the post-exodus movement, is so poignantly illustrated from "what next":

35.1 Nothing to be done

Undoubtedly the urgent reminder is how best to preserve our culture and tradition. Or what is it, that recovers what has been taken from us. We have to dismantle our long-standing taboos of puerile class-formation and revive our heritage through our own Kashmiri idioms. Then and then alone can we obtain an insight into our rich culture and enter the realm of a Krishan Joo Razdan, a Paramanand, a Lalleswari, the legendary world of Nagirai and Heemal, an Arnimal and converse with them in a meanigful way. The same holds equally good about our music, dance and poetry. The more we distance ourselves from them and our well-established mores, the more alienated we are and lose the claim to a distinct identity. This, however does not imply compartmentalization or an exclusive approach to the modernistic trends. Assimilation and absorption of new thought currents and advances in science and technology have always been our rational approach to life. And that is what has kept the vibrant community alive. What is needed is both adaptation and adoption for the growth of a healthy social organisation. Clearly if we look for universality and liberal humanism, our idiom has to reflect a rapidly changing world of scientific adventure and international understanding. Bridges of understanding and shared common suffering could be built up by a plethora of scholars who have so far produced thought provoking articles on the Dilemma of Our Exodus but done little to arouse the human conscience against the attempted genocide of a whole community. Very few dramas or theatrical concerts have been organised to draw the attention of the world community to a man-made tragedy and the menace of a theo-fascist order no less disastrous and awesome than the Nazi and Fascist ideology against which mankind had to organize itself to save humanity.

In the all-pervading gloom that envelops us, what better way of statement can there be than the following "Vakh" of Lalleshwari.

''दोद क्याह ज़ानि यस नो बने, शम की ज़ामहा वलिथ तने।
घर घर फीरस प्ययम कने, ड्यँदुम नुह कांह पननि कन्ये॥

"How can a person understand the agony of others with their bodies and minds afflicted by deep sorrow! Everywhere I was welcomed with stones and scarcely could I find any soul to solace me."

Using the metaphor of a cotton flower, Lalla conveys her spiritual experience in a very subtle way :

तंल बो द्रायस कपसि पोशियि सचुय, काडय् तु
धून्य करनम यचूय लछ।
तूय यलि खरनम जविज तूये, वोवुरि वानू
गयम अलंजय लछ॥

Expressing her different stages (bhumikas) in her ascent of the self, Lalla says :

'Like a cotton-flower, the seeds wherof are separated by the constant friction of a rotating wheel (and then assume the shape of cotton at the hands of a cannatantri *(dhuniya)*, Lalla, likewise bore the beatings courageously before she was transformed into a slender thread to be mounted on the spining *(Khari)*, wheel of a weaver to take the form of a finely woven fabric.

Rich in wit and humour, metaphor and imagery, Kashmiri has a very old etymological base in Vedic lore and bears a deep impact of Paisachi. The enchanting land of Saptarisis (Seven Sages) and their language

has to be promoted as the vehicle of our day-to-day existence to mirror our feelings of joy and sorrow, to reverberate the mournful tunes of a community in exile under sunless skies and kindle hopes for a bright future where all may live under the common bonds of love and amity. Kashmiri is the symbol of that Divine Mother whose worship in the form of Math was at one time so pervasive into the heartland of the Himalayas and in whose lap a Kashmiri found his abode of peace and beauty.

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36 Importance of Language and Culture for Survival as a Kashmiri Community

Dr. Roop Krishen Bhat

Kashmiri language is one of the major Indian languages listed in the 8th Schedule of the constitution of India. It is spoken by over 50 Lakh people. In the state of J&K there are about 40 Lakh people speaking Kashmiri. Rest of about 10 lakh people who have migrated out of the state during the course of time are scattered in other parts of the country and the world over. Since no census has been possible since 1981 in J&K the figures are approximate. Besides there are Kashmiri speaking people living in the Pakistan occupied part of Kashmir. Kashmiri language has rich literary tradition and history of about 600 years of literature. Kashmir has produced many eminent scholars whose contribution in various fields has been globally recognized.

It is unfortunate that throughout the course of its history Kashmiri language has never got appropriate government patronage. It was never made the official language of the state. As a matter of fact this language could not become a vehicle for transmission of history, information or knowledge. Mostly Kashmiris had to rely on other languages for acquiring information and other competitive skills. From time to time there have been conscious efforts to marginalise Kashmiri language and literature in a bid to alienate a large section of people of valley from the national main stream. This became obvious during the foreign sponsored terrorism being perpetuated in the state of J&K for past more than a decade now which resulted in a lare scale migration from the valley. As a result of displacement Kashmiri Hindus have been scattered all over the world.

Immediately after the mass migration during early 90's the very existence of the community was threatened. However, with hard work, knowledge, education and tireless efforts at individual and collective levels, by now the community has come out of the onslaught. By now people have readjusted and reconciled to the new environment and new role in the society. However, the migrations as usual have the expected fallouts. The major one being loosing of the language and culture. It has been observed that people are gradually loosing their language and culture. It may be underlined that language and culture are symbols of identity for a community and a ommunity is known and named only through their language. It is therefore obligatory for each and every member of the community to keep his/her mother tongue alive. Culture is deeply embedded in language; rather language is the lone carrier of cultural heritage, culture flows through language. There is a difference between surviving and living. To make it precise Kashmiri Hindus after the post migration period have simply survived. Living would necessitate performing of our cultural rituals, customs, celebrating festivals etc. in their original form and spirit as was done prior to the migration, there by living a full, complete and holistic life.

The main question, which bothers every one of us, is how to keep our language alive in the absence of Governmental support. In the absence of Governmental support onus lies on the speakers themselves. Parents have a big role to perform. They have to encourage their children to learn and speak Kashmiri in their homes, social and religious functions. NGOs like the Kashmiri Samitis within the country and across the globe the IEKF etc have bigger roles to play by co-ordinating various social and cultural activities and organizing their community. Opening cultural centers, organizing get togethers, functions, seminars, workshops and providing language teaching materials to the members. There are language learning materials available in Devnagri and Roman scripts as well which could be of great help for retaining/learning of the language. Issues of Kashmiri language have been of prime concern to the scholars and researchers all these years, but such issues have not bothered the speakers in general. Unless every speaker realizes consequences of ignoring his/her mother tongue or culture, much could not be achieved. The luke warm attitude towards language would definitely threaten the very existence of the community. Hence to live as a community will obligate us to keep our language and culture alive.

It should be the responsibility of the non-Governmental organizations or Kashmiri Samitis to run the courses for learning of Kashmiri language. The use of script should be no bar for learning a language. Script could be choosen as per requirement, as materials are now available in all the three scripts i.e. Devnagri, Persio-Arabic and Roman. The Central Institute of Indian languages, Mysore and its Northern

Regional Language Centre, Patiala have recently produced a three vol. Audio Cassette Course in Kashmiri which could be of great help in learning or retaining of the language. Scientifically it is said that learning of the script should not take more than 20 Hrs and spending of this much time should not be very difficult for any one to whom the cause of survival as a community member is of prime concern. As pointed out language is the only bond which binds us together in one spoken community, sharing same origin, same emotion and cultural moorings.

I have been insisting that we open Kashmiri Cultural Centre in every city with sizable Kashmiri population; such centers should have all such facilities which are required for living as a community, including facilities for learning and speaking of Kashmiri language. Such centres could function as nodal centres with complete cultural ambience, an art gallery, library, audio visual corner, folk games etc. To begin with such centres could be established in cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Banglore where a sizable Kashmiri population have resettled after migration. It should be responsibility of these centres to preserve, propagate and promote Kashmiri language and culture by providing all necessary facilitates, organizing seminars.workshops.social functions and exchanging language related materials.

A perfect planning and meticulous execution shall make all this possible provided we move ahead with sincerity and honesty and devote some little time for this common cause. We should keep Jews in mind who after hundreds of years of their displacement and migration got reunited and resettled as a country in Israel because they never compromised their language, literature and culture. Our community is fortunate to have amongst us most celebrated scholars, writers and linguists whose services could be utilized for achieving our objectives in this regard.

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37 Kashmiri Diaspora : Remarks on Linguistico-cultural Erosion

Dr. Raj Nath Bhat

1.

Language and culture are the two fundamental ingredients which give a community a distinct character and build bonds of fraternity and oneness amongst its members. A displaced community finds itself in alien surroundings with a new kind of fauna and flora and language and culture. Several linguistico-cultural entities are inevitably lost in this scenario because the younger generation cannot get acquainted with the climate, fauna and flora, and the culture of its parental (ancestral) land.

This paper aims at exploring those linguistico-cultural entities which are lost even in the passive competence of the younger generation of the displaced community.

2.

Kashmiri Pandit diaspora can be divided into three segments : GI people of fifty years of age and above; G2 those between twenty five and fifty years of age; and G3 those below twenty-five years of age. The urban-rural distinction is no longer applicable, for the diaspora is scattered in several urban centers across the country with large concentrations stationed in Jammu and Delhi.

The economically settled with their own houses are in the process of integrating with the dominant cultures around them. Of the unsettled a small section is housed in rented places and a large chunk is sheltered in the migrant camps or slums in Jammu. These camps, in my view, should be considered as authentic centers reflecting linguistico-cultural maintenance or loss, whatever be the case, as far as the diaspora is concerned.

G1 is fully aware of the linguistico-cultural moorings of the community. It speaks the Kashmiri language and observes traditional religious rituals, rites and customs of the community. It is aware of the socio-cultural traditions, viz., festivals, ceremonies, superstitions, myths, foods, clothing and so on. It has a nostalgic longing for the valley of Kashmir and would go back if the circumstances so permit it. The camps are full of these lonely, frail and skinny people. In a camp a 12*7 feet chamber cannot house a joint family; so the sons and daughters of these old people have either shifted to other chambers or migrated elsewhere in search of some kind of a semi-employment. In places far off where their sons have been able to find work, the parents find it tortuous to stay home alone for the whole day when the young son(s) is out at work. So they prefer to stay on in the camps where they at least have the company of other community members whom they can talk to and share their sorrows with.

The joint family system has completely broken down and the young children have no idea of a family with grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins around.

G2 is struggling to root itself somewhere, although it loves the valley yet it is unsure whether a return there would be desirable if the situation so arises. It struggles hard to feed the family, educate the children, attend to social obligations, negotiate its existence at its new place of work, in the market, in the lanes and by-lanes of the alien place(s) he finds himself in. Although he speaks Kashmiri fluently yet he lost an interest in traditional festivals, customs and rituals and so on.

G3 is the generation of young members with little or no memories of the valley. They were of a tender age at the time of displacement and a small percentage was born in these new environs. (After the displacement, the fertility has come down considerably among the members of the community. Divorce rate is on the rise and one-child norm has become the holy mantra). For this segment of the diaspora the Kashmir is merely a geographic entity. Their primary language is Hindi although some have a degree of passive competence in Kashmiri as well. For them snow is white flakes which they see on theTV screen and *pheran* is a broad gown without a front cut. For them the New Year starts on the first of January and the Diwali, Christmas and Holi are the restivals of joy and merry-making.

3.

Culture is more or less a language game as language is considered to be the repository of socio-cultural belief systems and customs of a community. *Pheran* and *kangri* have no importance in the plains so is the case with a large number of other linguistic and cultural entities which have had a socio-religious significance in the valley. All such vocabulary items are almost completely lost with the G3. Hardly would one find these linguistic items even in their passive competence. Listing such items would occupy a lot of space, a few have been discussed below for illustration.

A house in Kashmir invariably has a *braand* 'porch' and *brand livun* 'porch-polishing' has a religio-cultural significance for a Hindu lady. The phrase *braandl kEny* 'lit. porchstone; wife' has a cultural importance for the whole speech community. The concepts as well as their religio-cultural importance is lost to the G3. A Kashmiri house has *voT* 'ground floor', *kuTh* 'first floor' and *kEEni* 'second floor'. *voT* is used during winter for sitting as well as for cooking. *kuTh* is the bedroom meant for use in all seasons. *kEEni* is the floor used for cooking and sitting during summer. So two social customs (i) going up to *kEEni* in spring *KEEni khasun*, and (ii) going down to live at the ground floor *voT vasun* during late autumn are no longer known to the G3. The house there also used to have a *Thokur KuTh* 'prayer room', *Dab*' wooden veranda', *panjrI* 'wooden net', *brEEry kEEni* 'cat's top-floor', *singal* 'wooden roof, *tshey* 'hay roof' etc., all these concepts and the terms referring to them are lost.

The onset of spring used to be marked by *I sont phulay* 'blossoming of flower and fruit trees'. On the third day of the *navreh* 'Kashmiri New Year day' people would go to parks and gardens to enjoy the warm sunshine and the colourful spring flowers. Such celebrations have ceased to be a part of the cultural life of the community in the plains and the G3 is simply unaware of such festivities. Spring meant a lot more. Walnut, almond, apricot, peach, cherry and all other fruit trees would flower. The flowers would gradually turn green and become unripe fruits. The children as well as the adults would enjoy kernels of green walnuts and almonds. The green coat of the unripe fruit would dye the skin on one's hands dark yellow. The vocabulary items like *gol* 'green coat of a walnut', *piirl guuly* 'green kernel' referring to these unripe fruits are not known to the G3.

Summer meant paddy and vegetable plantations and other agricultural activities associated with it. The linguistic items like *thal kar In* 'seeding plantation' and the names of agricultural implements like *allbEEny* '*plough*', *beel*, *Tongur*, *livan*, *droot* 'sickle' and so on are not known to the G3. Similarly, there are a number of other linguistic terms which are associated with paddy harvesting like *daani loonun, daani chombun, daani ganDun, daani munun*, etc. which the G3 is unacquainted with. *Kaanglr* 'fire pot' used by every Kashmiri during winter to keep him/herself warm has several components, viz., *konDal* 'earthen pot inside the *kaanglr' kaani* 'dried willow twigs', *tshaalan*' a wooden or metallic spatula tied to the fire pot' which are naturally lost to the G3 for *Kaanglr* has no place in the warm plains. During autumn when trees shed their leaves, people broom those into piles, *pan Duvun* 'brooming leaves', and put those on fire *pan Zaalun* 'burning leaves' to prepare *tsInI* 'coal' for use in the *KaangIr*. Over use of a *KaangIr* would burn the skin on one's thigh *naarI tot* 'skin burn'; one would put a little *zetI/tengul* 'live coal' into *tshIni kaangIr* 'fir pot full of wood/leaf coal' to ignite it. All these terms have lost significance, hence are lost to the G3.

Pheran 'a woolen gown without a front cut' has a special place in Kashmiri attire. Associated with it are the terms like *pootsh* 'cotton lining of a *pheran*' *pheran laada'a* fold at the bottom of a *pheran*' which terms are not in the repertoire of the G3. Similarly the Hindu women's traditional head-gear *tarIngI* and its components like *zuujy, puuts, shiishlaTh* etc. are completely lost as far as the G3 is concerned.

Traditionally the community has been celebrating birth days of the family members according to the Hindu lunar calendar. People would remember their respective dates of birth accordingly. But not now. Preparation of *tEhar* 'yellow rice' as part of the birth day celebrations is losing ground and instead cutting of a cake according to the Christian calendar has replaced it. Due to a lack of knowledge of the traditional calendar, the significance of the religious/auspicious days like the *EETham* '8th day of a fortnight; *punim* '15th day of the moonlit fortnight', *kah* '11th day of a fortnight' is gradually being lost. The religious festivals/rituals like *gaaDI batI* 'fish-rice for the house god', *kaavI punim* 'crow's *purnima*', *manjhoor tEhar* 'yellow rice of *Magar* month' *heerath salaam*' 2nd day of the *Shiv Ratri*' are least understood by the

G3. The rituals like ***sontI thaal*** 'spring plate', ***kaavI potul*** 'crow's cup' etc. are simply lost. Same is the case with such superstitions like ***zangi yun*** 'to be the first to cross some one on his/her way out of home', ***buth wuchun*** 'see somebody's face in the morning', ***saatI neerun*** 'to leave a place on an auspicious day' etc. are not known to the G3.

One could add several socio-cultural vocabulary items to the list here. For instance, the terms related to such like professions/trades like carpentry, masonry or the terms employed by iron/gold smiths, barber, cobbler, butcher, and so on which are not known to the G3. Similarly, such holy places like ***tulImul, khrIv, shEEdpur, Ekingom, shenkracaar, parbath, maartanD etc.,*** Which have a sacred place in the hearts of the devout Hindus of the valley, do not denote anything to the G3.

4.

G3 is deeply concerned about its individual progress. It does not see any benefit accruing from learning Kashmiri. It converses with its parents and peers in Hindi, Kashmiri is a burden it can well do without. With the language loss, cultural loss is inevitable. The trend looks difficult to reverse. Kashmiri is not taught at the school anywhere. It has not been a subject even in the Kashmir valley. G2 does not have the requisite resources to arrange for the teaching of Kashmiri language and culture to the G3 nor is the latter interested or inclined to appreciate its parental tongue and the ancestral culture. Hence, the demise of a community's identity seem inevitable within the next two generations when both the G2 & G3 would cease to be around on the scene.

The preparation of video, audio and print materials in Kashmiri language and culture may prove helpful at a later stage when a mature and settled G3 may, like the Jews, develop an inclination to learn and know about its roots, ancestral language and culture.

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38 Kashmiri Language, Kashmiris and New Millennium

Dr. Soomnath Raina

Kashmiri language is one of the major Indian language included in the 8th schedule of the constitution of India. Unfortunately this language did not receive that attention from Kashmiris in general and J&K govt. in particular as other major Indian languages of different states did receive. That is why the children of those Kashmiri parents who have migrated and settled in different corners of the country and abroad have gone and are in the process of going into a great loss of their mother tongue. It is this mother tongue loss of Kashmiri children which has necessitated me to open a debate on this crucial and painful issue through this article. Why Kashmiri speaking parents are not worried at all about the mother tongue loss of their children and what we teachers, researchers, writers, poets, critics, scholars and above all the lovers of Kashmiri language should do to retain the language loss of Kashmiri children and develop it like other major languages, is a question of great importance. We can answer this question only when a detailed and thorough discussion is held on the core issues of the problem, which are; the will of Kashmiris to learn their mother tongue, the language policy of the State Government and the teaching of Kashmiri as L1 and L2. The main issue that I want to discuss in this article is the mother tongue loss of Kashmiris migrated and settled in the different parts of India and abroad. That is why this study will include the issues like the will of Kashmiri people to learn their mother tongue and the teaching of Kashmiri as L2 only.

38.1 The Will of Kashmiris

In the last more than five decades it has been observed that Kashmiri people in general lack the will to teach their children in their mother tongue, most probably because after reading Kashmiri as a subject they cannot think of a prosperous future of their children which to a great extent is not correct.

38.2 Teaching of Kashmiri as L2

Teaching a language as L2 simply means to teach a language to non-natives in formal and informal situations both. This kind of teaching, in short; involves teaching of four skills of language learning namely speaking skill, comprehension skill, reading skill and writing skill there by, more emphasis being laid on teaching of a spoken language, rather than teaching about a language or teaching literature of a language. The recent research and experiments in class room have proved that non-native learners learn a language as L2 in a very short span of time.

I personally am of the opinion that the children of Kashmiri parents born and settled in the different parts of the country and in foreign countries in different geographical, social, cultural and linguistic situations are more or less non-natives. For the purpose of teaching their mother tongue they need to be recognized and treated as non-natives and thus must be taught formally in the classroom and informally at home, which of course is possible at present only and not in future. In this peculiar situation teaching of Kashmiri as a mother tongue and teaching Kashmiri as L2 are two labels used for the same purpose irrespective of their deeper linguistic variations. Hence in the present context when I say teaching of Kashmiri as L2 it means teaching of Kashmiri as mother tongue.

Kashmiri is being taught as L2 since 1971 in Northern Regional language Centre, Patiala which is one of the seven Regional language Centres of the Central institute of Indian languages, Mysore. Central Institute of Indian languages is under the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Govt. of India. Kashmiri is taught as L2 to non native in-service teachers. The course, which is taught, is called Diploma course. This Diploma course is of ten months. Besides teaching Kashmiri as L2 the Kashmiri Department in the centre is engaged in the production of text books, teaching materials, supplementary materials and laboratory lessons for all the language learners in general and L2 learner in particulars.

After drawing a brief sketch of the past and present status of teaching Kashmiri as L2, a few questions are but natural to arise :

Is it necessary for the Kashmiri children of new millennium to acquire Kashmiri as their mother tongue?

Is it not possible for these children to acquire their mother tongue while building a bright and prosperous career in the isolated situations they are living?

What role parents can play in helping their children to acquire their mother tongue?

What role the intellectuals of Kashmiri language can play for teaching of Kashmiri language to those Kashmiri children who because of one reason or another are deprived of their mother tongue?

Last but not the least; will not the loss of Kashmiri language lead to the loss of Kashmiri culture and there-by pose a threat to the very existence of very rich and wonderful heritage, which is called Kashmiriyat?

With regard to the first question there are three opinions. According to the first opinion acquiring / learning of Kashmiri as mother tongue is not necessary because it has no utility. The followers of this opinion argue that when we can do without the usage of this language, why should we worry about it? The second opinion insists on the parents to help their children to learn their mother tongue and the third opinion pleads for a community or organizational approach to motivate and teach their children so that they do not loose the color and fragrance of Kashmiri language and culture in the new millennium.

As a linguist and a language teacher I do not agree with the first opinion where as the second and third opinions are quite relevant both for present and future generations of Kashmiris.

In my view the main task of Kashmiris in new millennium is to concentrate on the remedial measures of mother tongue loss of their children who are deprived of natural language learning environment because of migration and consequently settlement at the places where their mother tongue remains confined to their homes only. It is here that the parents/elders at home have to handle the problems psychologically, skillfully and above all affectionately. In addition to the day to day conversation in mother tongue only; the parents must spare some time from their busy schedule for spending with their children in chatting, playing, singing and telling stories etc. etc. Parents have to make these dedicated efforts only in the early age during their primary education and afterwards teaching will automatically turn into self-learning by the imitative and curious children. The result will be that the Kashmiri children will learn Kashmiri language wherever they will be and shall remain tied with the silken thread, of Kashmiriyat and thus retaining their identity of being Kashmiris.

Now the question which remains to be answered is what we Kashmiris as a community should do if the parents fail to perform their first and foremost responsibility of making their children to acquire their mother tongue? It is particularly in this context that we must launch a united movement for the retention and development of Kashmiri language and culture both in India and abroad.

Outside the valley at different places in India and abroad the community organizations must take the assignment of Kashmiri teaching on the priority basis so that its survival does not fall in danger in the course of coming generations. I am happy to learn that Kashmiri Pandit Association Mumbai and Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta have taken the lead in organizing Kashmiri classes for their children. I hope other organizations working at other places will also follow the suit.

Nip the evil in the bud. We are not late, we are in time. Let us not waste the time waiting, watching and simply discussing. We must march unitedly with a purpose; the purpose of accepting the challenge to save Kashmiri language and culture. This challenge is to be taken seriously, handle it cautiously and educate those who are not conscious of the danger of the survival of Kashmiri language and culture. We must remain ready to offer our voluntary service, for the cause if and when the need arises. Let us resolve that we all will work hard to teach Kashmiri language to develop it and its culture from today so that in new millennium Kashmiri language and culture touches the new heights of attraction and prosperity. ***Mailing address : Northern Regional Language Centre, Patiala 147002*** *Source*: **Vitasta Annual Number**

39 Koshur And Our Identity

Dr. B. N. Sharga

At the out set I would like to frankly admit that I am not competent enough to write with an authority on this highly emotional and sensitive issue. So, under these circumstances, I will only try to express my views on this subject on the basis of the information which I have collected from different sources over the years in connection with my exhaustive research work on Kashmiriology vis-a-vis the Kashmiri Pandits.

As we all know, the language is basically a medium of statement to communicate between one another. Its growth and development naturally depends upon the availability of its literature for which the existence of a proper script is a must to write down your feelings and thoughts for future generations. But the most unfortunate part of this whole story is that the Kashmiri language to my knowledge is only a spoken language and uptill now has no standard and well recognised script of its own with the result that this language has not been able to acquire that status and position which the other regional languages generally enjoy in our country although some sincere efforts have been made by the lovers of this language from time to time to give this language its due status by promoting it at different levels.

It is really most unfortunate that there is no authentic record about the origin and evolution of the Kashmiri language in the Kashmir Valley which still requires an exhaustive research work by the competent scholars on this subject as there are divergent views on the evolution of this language in the Valley.

It is generally believed that during the Hindu period in Kashmir which lasted upto 1337 A.D. Sanskrit used to be the language of Kashmir for literally purposes which was gradually replaced subsequently by the Persian language during the Muslim rule in Kashmir. But some research scholars consider birch manuscript of "Manimata manimala" to be the most ancient script of Kashmir whereas others consider the Sharada script of Bakshali which was first of all discovered in the Bakshali village in North Western Frontier Province now in Pakistan to be the oldest known script of Kashmiri.

Now according to Professor Ahmad Hasan Dani, a noted epigraphist and archeologist of Pakistan who read his research paper recently in the 61st session of the Indian History Congress held in Kolkata, a stone was discovered in Afghanistan near Mazare Sharif bearing a clear cut inscription in Sharada script describing the construction of a Shiva Temple in that region during the rule of Hindu Shahi King Vaku in the 10th century. But with the passage of time Sharada, Pali and Brahmi scripts of Kashmir became extinct.

In our country every region has its own language which is taught in schools and colleges and is the medium of instruction in those respective states like Bengali in West Bengal, Gujrati in Gujrat, Marathi in Maharashtra, Tamil in Tamil Nadu, Telgu in Andhra Pradesh and so on and so forth, but the only exception is the Kashmiri language which is neither taught nor is the medium of instruction in the schools and colleges in the Jammu and Kashmir state. In its place the medium of instruction in Jammu and Kashmir in schools and colleges is Urdu which really sounds some thing very strange. The state government has done practically nothing uptill now to promote this language there, although the Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah has promised recently that he would do some thing worth while in this regard soon.

No sincere effort has so far been made by any body at any level to evolve a standard script to write the Kashmiri language properly which is necessary for its rapid growth and development. The Kashmiri language used to be written in the "Nastalikh" script in Kashmir in the past. Now Kashmiri Hindus have adopted the "Devnagri" script to express themselves, but still there are many short comings in the script as a slight change in the pronounciation of a particular word changes its meaning altogether. There is, to my knowledge, no primer to teach this language to a learner who is interested to learn the language.

About two years back Dr. B.K. Moza of Kolkata took some initiative to evolve a standard script acceptable to all for writing the Kashmiri language in Devnagri but in spite of his best efforts the response

from A.I.K.S., who wished and agreed to have this as their agenda, was not very purposeful. Still, he is making all efforts in this direction and towards preservation of Kashmiri mother tongue.

In Lucknow on the initiative of Pt. Maharaj Kishan Kaw, the education secretary of the government of India, the classes for teaching the Kashmiri language were started last year under the able supervision of Mrs. Lata Kak in Bappa Srinarain Vocational Post Graduate College, but due to non availability of proper books to teach this language methodically the whole scheme had to be shelved with a heavy heart. It has been learnt from very reliable sources quite recently that Dr. O.N. Wakhlu and his son Mr. Bharat Wakhlu after doing a lot of research work have developed a Roman script for writing the Kashmiri language and have also published some primary books for learning this language quickly without any difficulty. It is a good biginning and it is hoped that the efforts of these people would bear fruits in the near future.

Then there are people who corelate the language with culture without knowing the fact that culture always changes with the times. Though my grand father was a judge in the British period and his elder brother went to England to study Law there at the Lincon's Inn, but he used to sit on a 'takht' with a 'Masnad' and a "Gaotakia" and he used to take the meals cooked by a Kashmiri Pandit cook and that too sitting on a wooden plank in the kitchen, wearing a 'Dhoti'. Now under the present set up how many Kashmiri Pandits will be ready to do the same thing. Is the culture of England the same today what it was during the Victorian era? The answer is a big no simply because change is the law of nature.

The Kashmiri Pandits who came out from the Kashmir Valley in the late 18th century and in the biginning of the 19th century and settled down in different regions of north India lost the track of their mother tongue and subsequetly became well versed in the languages of those regions simply for their growth and development under those special circumstances in which they were forced to live for their survival. They achieved very high positions in the society because of their merit and integrity but all through these 300 years they tried their level best to preserve their distinct cultural identity by religiously sticking to certain values and by maintaining the purity of their Aryan blood. The concept of an intercast marriage was beyond the imagination of any member of the community at that time. A Kashmiri Pandit used to be identified by his features and complexion in the crowd even without uttering a single word. What is the position to day. Many Kashmiri Pandits due to intercast marriages and inter mixing of different bloods do not look like a Kashmiri Pandit at all and have no traits which a Kashmiri Pandit should have.

By giving emphasis to the Kashmiri language alone will not solve our problems to maintain our distinct cultural identity unless sincere and effective steps are taken to curb the alarming rise in the number of intercast marriages in our community in the recent past which is actually responsible to a great extent for the fast disintegration of our microscopic community. If this trend is not checked in time then nobody will be able to stop our community from becoming extinct in the near future.

The modern scientific researches in the field of genetic engineering have proved conclusively that genes play a vital role in determining the basic characteristics of a human being. So for maintaining our basic characteristics intact, it is necessary that we should give due importance to preserve the purity of our genes which is only possible when we will maintain the purity of our Aryan blood and avoid mixing of the genes of other races and communities into our veins. Actually these are the basics which really matter in preserving our identity and not the environment and other things. If our boys and girls continue to marry in other communities at a fast rate in the name of projecting themselves as most ultra modern then the very purpose of this exercise will have no meaning. It will be like crying all alone in wilderness. Then we will naturally become a laughing stock for others. A well chalked out action plan is the need of the hour. The following lines composed by the well known Urdu poet of Lucknow, Pt. Brij Narain Chakbast, long time back are still relevant today in this respect and convey the same underlying message to the community members.

क्या कहें किससे कहें हम आज क्या कहने को है
आख़िरी अफ़साना--ए—शौके़ वफ़ा कहने को है।
जिन उम्मीदों की लड़कपन में हुई थी इब्तिदा
आज उनकी इन्तिहा का माजरा कहने को है।
बेख़बर अब भी नहीं हम कोम के दुःख दर्द से
पहले हिम्मत थी दवा की अब दुआ कहने को है।
क्या कहें क्या दौरे—आख़िर में सितम देखा किये।
बरहमी बढ़ती गयी महफिल की हम देखा किये।

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Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

40 Decline in Koshur Nagri

Pushkar Nath Dhar

Enough water has flown through Vitasta (Ancient historical name of river Jehlum). This has irrigated and created fertile agriculture land in the valley. Saraswati had created here a unique sect among human beings which was called Kashmiri Pandit (KP) which is the cream of intellegentsia for thousands of years. The water of Vitasta had no utility to the saffron (Kaiser) fields where only fertile special land, natural rain, cool moon light, autmn nights including snow, made these as the best saffron producers in the world. Similarly KPs were bestowed with fertile brains in the fields of educational, cultural, scientific and aesthetic fields as torch bearers in the valley. Among them were saints, poets, sufis, astrologers who had rendered such services which made the valley a Paradise in the world.

There is no denying that KPs were the aborigines and have been reduced to minority by the circumstances of history. KPs which included the ones converted to Islam and thus forming majority population used Koshur language from the time immemorial to keep the identity alive of the original inhabitants of the valley.

There had been time, it is said, when there remained only eleven (11) KP families, rest having been converted or left the valley due to aggression, yet the Kashmiri language remained contineously spoken throughout the valley. History repeated for the last one decade and a year past, en-emasse exodus of KPs at the point of guns rendered them refugees and their forced exile to other parts of India was consequent result. During this period in the valley it is a slow death of Hindu culture. Koshur language started getting defunct leading to its further deterioration and decline of Koshur language, culture and heritage.

After independence Koshur language was accorded due recognition under VIIIth schedule of Indian constitution but the accepted / approved script was Persio-Arabic-Urdu. However history is witness that Koshur language was not given due encouragement or consideration as it deserved being the common spoken language of the vast population of the valley as the Urdu was mainly official language of the Government.

Now so far as KPs are concerned, its historians, writers, authors, poets and litterateurs have different conflicting views about Koshur language and culture. Many leaders have openly declared that Koshur language was never a written language but only spoken by people from mouth to mouth.

All the seminars, conferences, symposia or political meetings are always carried out in English both in the valley as well as outside even though the theme being 'Declining Koshur language and culture'. Unfortunately deliberations and resolutions are also carried out in English language except some random usages of few proverbs, similes or rendering of Koshur poetry.

Irony is that our publications, magazines and news papers advocate to encourage and advise all KPs to keep Koshur alive. It is boldly stated and said "Breathe Kashmiri Read Kashmiri speak Kashmiri." But all this is written in English. This is no doubt considered as international language easily interpretted by all elite, our leaders/writers/authors and poets. Koshur in Persio-Arabic-Urdu script as well as in Dev Nagri script is not easily decyphered by majority of gentlemen KPs either in the valley or outside though former script was prevalant for more than half a century while later script (Nagri) is being tried for two decades now only on experimental basis.

If a survey is carried out in present disintegrated KP society, I am sure hardly one among thousands speaks or converses in Koshur at homes, places of work or meetings. Koshur Samachar Delhi, Khir Bhawani Times of Jammu and Vitasta of Kolkata tried their best to increase Koshur section in their columns with Dev Nagri script but response is very little, discouraging and negligible as compared to the English portion. For example if there are 100 pages in the Magazine, 80 pages are coverd by English, 15 pages by Hindi and hardly 5 pages by Dev Nagri Koshur. All appeals for enhancement and progress of Koshur, appear in my opinion, as dishonest and insincere sin unless and until social and moral formula is made applicable to all our biradari disintegrated members to enforce strict continuation of Koshur conversation at homes, places of work, meetings, seminars symposia etc.

Now it is not a day but eleven long years all KPs have been eliminated from our valley. It is natural for all to have reconciled with the circumstances to have almost half settled at different places outside, lessons from past history can not be forgotten easily. Why then lament for our futile discouragement but try to build bridges among our selves to at least make our next generation realize that if our culture, language or heritage is kept alive, all we have to ponder is how to continue Koshur Nagri script progressing in our homes where ever we may be.

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Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

41 From Mother-tongue to Motherland

J. L. Manwati

It has given me intense pleasure to know that the theme of the 'Vitasta Annual Number' has been perceived to be based upon our mother-tongue Kashmiri. There is no doubt that language is the most important factor for binding a community. It is the pioneer cementing agent, not only to hold a community together, but it also confers mark of identification on it.

Kashmiri Pandits have had to leave their motherland through religious / political persecution for centuries which has made their mother-tongue to relapse into near oblivion. This is more true in the present day diaspora which has scattered our community throughout the country. We at Kashmiri Pandits' Association, Mumbai have a nagging feeling that unless we make concerted efforts to arrest further relegation of our mother-tongue, we may lose our very identification as Kashmiri.

Another disturbing factor is that for quite some time now, may I say, even much before the present exodus, there has been sustained overt and covert endeavour on the part of the State authorities that be, to create an impression that Persian script has been the only script of Kashmiri language, whereas the fact remains that from the Vedic times, Kashmiri used to be written in Pali / Prakrit / Sharda, the recent off take from Sharda being the Devanagari script.

Conscious of the exigent situation, Kashmiri Pandits' Association, in collaboration with the Lalla-Ded Educational and Welfare Trust, Mumbai has already initiated many a step to inculcate interest among young and not so young biradari members in their mother-tongue, simultaneously emphasizing the need to adopt Devanagari script for the language. A delineation of the measures undertaken in this direction, shall illustrate the keenness, with which we have addressed to this challenge.

41.1 Mohan Lal Aima Music Award

This award has been instituted in the year 1999 by Shri Onkar Aima in the memory of his brother Late Mohan Lal Aima, a doyen of Kashmiri Music. For this award, children in the age group of 10-18 years, having flair for singing, have to sing in Kashmiri and their performance is adjudged by a panel of professional Kashmiri musicologists and a language monitor. The emphasis is on the language. The award carries a cash prize of Rs. 2000.00 each for the best male and female singer. For the second place, male and female performers are entitled to Rs. 1000.00 each and third place contestants are given Rs. 500.00 in each category. Besides, each participant is given a certificate of having participated in the competition, which over the years, has become quite popular. The underlying idea is to create interest in the Kashmiri language through music.

41.2 Project Zaan

Lalla-Ded Educational and Welfare Trust, in collaboration with the Kashmiri Pandits' Asssociation has embarked upon this novel and engrossing project. Last year, under this project, information on the various facets of Kashmir land & the people, history, religion, culture, language & script, fairs & festivals, rites & rituals, saints & sages, shrines/places of woship, historical places, eminent personalities, arts and artists etc. was disseminated among the community members through periodical brochures/leaflets. And at the end of the year, these brochures/leaflets were consolidated into a small digest, and based upon this compendium of information, a Quiz Contest for various age group of children/adults, was held on 30th April 2000, wherein our enthusiastic youngsters participated in the day-long competitive events, mostly in Kashmiri language.

Another such information digest has been issued in the first week of February 2001 and a parallel Quiz Contest has been scheduled for 19th August 2001. The idea is to arouse curiosity in our youngsters about their rich heritage and their interest in their mother-tongue.

41.3 Kashmiri Language Classes

Lalla-Ded Educational and Welface Trust is conducting fortnightly classes for different age groups, in spoken Kashmiri language at Vasai, Mumbai. The popularity of these classes can be gauged by the fact

that not only youngsters attend such classes religiously, even the elders are making demands for short crash courses of the language.

41.4 A Primary Guide to Spoken Kashmiri Language

A monumental work has been done by the Lalla-Ded Educational and Welfare Trust, in compiling an easy-to-read guide to spoken Kashmiri language in Devanagari script. The work, which is completely new in content, has been designed and styled in the easy to read and comprehensive format. The booklet amply describes in Roman accented language, the correct infliction of Kashmiri spoken language. The script used and the notations thereof, are from approved Devanagari script and there is least risk of adopting the script for both reading and writing of the language. This booklet is being released on the coming Navreh.

41.5 Kashmiri-Hindi-English Dictionary

Another monographic work which is on the anvil of Lalla-Ded Educational and Welfare Trust, is a Devanagari Kashmiri-Hindi-English Dictionary. Although the research team engaged in this stupendous task is in the awe of the lexicographical legends and eminent etymologists who have done a lot of work in the field, yet the panel is sure that their research work, which might take another 3-4 years, shall prove its usefulness to the readers.

We hope readers will appreciate the work undertaken by Kashmiri Pandits' Association and Lalla-Ded Educational and Welfare Trust, Mumbai in preservation and propagation of our mother-tongue, which it is felt, can lead us to our roots Maej Kashir.

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Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

42 Plea for the retention of mother tongue, Kashmiri

Dr. K. L. Chowdhury

Language is a complex, critical and uniquely human function. Its components include comprehension, fluency, reading, writing, prosody etc.

Language is the single most defining attribute of a people. Music, painting, sculpture, dance and other arts originating from any region or country transcend geographical confines for they don't need special training to be appreciated. Language, on the other hand, being distinctive of geographical regions each country having its own language and each state, district and even borough its own dialect has to be learnt to be understood. Post-independent India was divided into linguistic states mainly on the basis of language rather than demographic and geographic considerations.

Language is the most important means of intercourse between humans. Without it, like the mute, we have to resort to the elaborate and complex ritual of sign language involving nodding, grunting, gestures, expressions and body movements to communicate. Sometimes we make use of the mime as part of, or in lieu of, the conventional conversational speech.

Mother tongue is the language, which one literally learns in the lap of mother and from one's father, other relatives, friends and the community. It is the language that has come down to us from generations as part of a larger heritage. It is rooted in history, ritual, tradition and folklore. We may be able to speak and write many languages and use them conveniently and profitably in our commercial, professional and social transactions but it is the mother tongue that comes to us naturally and spontaneously and that gives the best statement to our deepest and purest thoughts. We think and dream in our mother tongue. We laugh and weep in our mother tongue. We love best in it and we even curse best in it. In fact our mother tongue is the sum total of the essence of our thinking and feeling and expressing. Besides, there is a spiritual and a metaphysical need in every human for his or her mother tongue. One can not deny the need for a common language for a country like India and, for that matter, a universal language for the world, which has shrunk into a global village because of the breathtaking revolution in information technology, travel, trade and commerce. Yet, there is an intense human need for topicality, for identity, and for individuality and mother tongue is one such attribute of the humans that fulfills this need. Imagine the dichotomy between our thoughts and expressions when we think in our mother tongue and try to express in a different language and loose the essence somewhere in between.

Kashmiri (Koshur) is the mother tongue of all people from the valley of Kashmir-Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs alike. It is essentially a spoken language. Till date no easy script has come our way and we have yet to resolve the contentious issue of Persian versus Devnagri script. Since Koshur is not taught in the schools, except for a brief honeymoon spell decades back, the language has received a step-motherly treatment at the official as well the individual levels, even by the most vociferous proponents of the so called Kashmiriyat. Kashmiris of all faiths and pronouncements would rather teach themselves and their children Urdu, Hindi, English and even Persian and Arabic rather than Koshur. Besides the fact that it is neither an official language nor a medium of instruction in schools nor of use in interstate or international commercial dealings, there is an unexplained contempt for the language and kids are spoken to in a language other than Koshur and discouraged to speak it not only in their schools but even in their homes. Our children have thus been straitjacketed into languages other than Koshur. In the process they have lost the case, essence and fun of daily speech the humor, the pun and the proverb; the slang and the idiom; the aphorism and the riddle etc., which spice the day to day conversation in mother tongue. Where religion has divided the Kashmiris to the extent that the minority Hindus have been forced into exodus, the apathy and neglect of their mother tongue and the contentious issue of its script have played no small role in widening the gulf between communities instead of cementing their relationship by virtue of providing a common identity and an affable vehicle for interaction and intercourse.

After more than a decade in exile our mother tongue has become tongue-tied. The trend towards extinction of Kashur has got accelerated because of the dispersal and Diaspora and the breakdown of family structure and the tearing apart of the social fabric. The easy way out for our children, growing up

or born in exile, is to speak the language of the region to which they have migrated, the language in which they would be welcome in the adopted milieu. Do in Rome as the Romans do is an old adage and, one might add, better speak their language too! You are immediately accepted in a place of adoption if you speak their lingua. Conversely, how glad we feel when the shopkeepers of Jammu, where many of us have migrated, not only make available for us all the provisions for our ritual and daily use but also hawk them aloud in Koshur like *Dejhouru* and *Athoru*, *Sochal* and *Hannd*, *Munji* and *Nadru*, *Warimuth* and *Hogade* tapping the emotional appeal of our mother tongue.

I can not fault the argument of friends that it is profitable as well as practicable to adopt the language of the region, state or country where we migrate besides having a working knowledge of Hindi, the national language, and learning English, the global language. But I do not agree that learning Koshur side by side is to burden your child with a language too many, and to muddle up his learning process. The study of the psychology of learning has amply proved that infants have an amazing power of learning many languages simultaneously without causing any confusion and that with the passage of time they sift the words, clauses and phrases of the different languages into their appropriate domains. And with a large vocabulary at their command they learn to experiment with the usage of words, borrowing them from one language to the other when they tend to falter, thus unconsciously innovating and adding to the richness of each. Let us not forget that the English language owes its wide acceptability partly to an ever-growing vocabulary that it continues to borrow from other languages enriching and expanding itself in the process.

Language is our identity like our name, parentage, place of birth, religion etc. It links us to history, to our heritage and to our culture. And since language identifies us and helps to bind us to our community, region and country it is only our mother tongue which can rekindle the urge and affinity for roots that is instinctual in all humans. Therefore it will be Koshur that will be the guiding spirit in exile for our march back to our homeland in Kashmir. It is the mother tongue that provides the best utterance to devotion and the most effective voice to revolution? Lall Ded could not have poured out her soul except in Koshur, nor could Mehjoor and Nadim fire the imagination of Kashmiris in any other language. Manoj Jad, a little known modern Kashmiri poet, singing in his loud invocatory voice his revolutionary song, holds a jam-packed audience spellbound to rouse them into a hand-clapping chorus where half a dozen scholarly discourses in another language from the same stage draw just a glimmer of response.

How do we then revive what is threatening to become a dead language for our younger generations? The first is to inculcate a sense of pride in our heritage, especially in our mother tongue, without decrying, discreditiong or disowning other languages. We are no linguistic chauvinists and understand the limitations of Kashmiri but we could take a leaf out of the English language. We have to enlarge our vocabulary and imbibe new words and expressions. There has to be finality about our script. Commendable work has been done by our pioneers and is being carried forward in Devnagri script and I feel we should continue from there and refine it to suit the unique Kashmiri nuances and inflexions, no doubt a challenging job for our linguists. Lot of effort has also been made in bringing the Kashmiri dictionary up to date and more needs to be done in this direction.

We need to revive the habit of speaking to each other in Koshur, especially to our children, in whichever part of the world we are resident. The slogan should be to catch them young if our aim is to reclaim our mother tongue and to re-implant it on the fertile cerebral soil of our progeny. Attractive pictorial primers of Koshur need to be published and people encouraged having copies at their homes. We have moved into the inter-net age. And we are fortunate in having amongst us many qualified and skilled IT personnel, computer engineers and software experts who should not find it difficult to create Kashmiri web sites and open cyberspace in Koshur. We need to provide incentive to our writers in Koshur whose work has not seen the light of the day; having remained unpublished for lack of resources and lack of readership. Our authors who have already published books remain largely unknown, unheard and unread except in a small literary circle. We should endeavor to finance new editions of their work and encourage people to get into the spirit of buying books other than prescribed texts. Our social and cultural functions should mainly be in Koshur and we should conduct literary events and hold declamation contests and stage Koshur plays. Cinema and music being strong vehicles for language, creation of video and audiocassettes and

experimenting with Koshur films will go a long way in this age of media blitz. But, more than anything else, there has to be a strong will to preserve and propagate Koshur. This demands a sense of deep commitment to our mother tongue from each one of us.

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Source: **Vitasta Annual Number**

43 Kashmiri Pandits and Their Mother Tongue

Dwarka Nath Munshi

As I turned the subject in my mind in the context of having to say something about it, I find it fairly challenging and feel not exactly equal to the task of writing some meaningful stuff for my own satisfaction and of interest to the community. Yet the same challenge drove me to take it up.

I have lived twice as many years in Delhi as I had in Srinagar. Yet the childhood and adolescent days remain green and fresh in memory. I recall vividly the joy and merriment of light-hearted banter among friends and relations at home and school, at work and the playfield, all in our mother tongue the Kashmiri language. We used to go in small groups of intimate friends out in the sylva surroundings or to the local Ghat on the Jehlum and ramble on to the nearby bridge in the moonlight watching another trembling moon under the clear waters of Vitasta. And we would sing love lyrics or share the day's experiences and jokes and little tales and anecdotes all in Kashmiri. How sweet it all sounded and how expressive of our emotions, our joy and sorrow our anger on setbacks and elation on achievement, our agony and ecstasy.

The Kashmiri language for me and my ilk was ample enough then in our little world of the seven bridges of Srinagar. Only when one moved to a town or a village, one would feel a little wanting and lost in the surroundings and comprehending some words and expressions or parables and pronunciations peculiar to that area.

Today it is altoghter different. I, like others, have grown into a mature old age, having passed through many stages of life and experiences and thereby having acquired an enlarged capability of thought and means which one could exchange profitably with others. But I find it difficult to do so in my mother tongue Kashmiri. Often when I set out to talk in my tongue I immediately fumble for words and instantaneously switch over to another language.

Why is it so, I ask myself and I immediately realise that I am not only not speaking in Kashmiri, I am not even thinking in it but amazingly in another one. What I speak in my mother tongue is thus only what is a translation simultaneously of my foreign thoughts into Kashmiri. Thus I fail to be fluent and precise and expressive enough.

What is a language if it has not a smooth flow in communicating with each other to express and explain or elaborate routine and subtle thoughts and develop it to serve these and related purposes. It is this utility and not only emotion and history or ritual that provides the stimulus for a language to grow and become meaningful and purposeful.

This is by no means to say that the Kashmiri language has shrunk in itself. But it has shrunk in comparison to other languages especially English, the language which enriches itself by absorbing foreign words to remain abreast of the expanding knowledge and new developements, and words which gain wide and popular currency. It must be admitted that our Kashmiri literature, which is available in large part in Poetry and some part in Prose, produced in relatively recent times, is sweet and enjoyable, eminently expressive of romance and spiritual, devotional, mirthful as well as motivational and revolutionary emotions and urges. But, alas! it has remained essentially static, not being able to keep pace with the immense and rapid changes that occur ever so fast in the modern world. Any language would lose its effectiveness in such circumstances.

A little earlier I mentioned about the variations in phonetics and pronunciation in Kashmiri. But this is not peculiar to our language alone. Nevertheless, the variations in our case stand out not only in urban-rural-hilly areas but also on the basis and influence of our different faiths. I think this is also partly the cause and to some extent, consequence of Kashmiri having no recognised or easily acceptable and adaptable script of its own. Nor have we ever had a Kashmiri alphabet. Had it been otherwise, had we had an alphabet that is a set of letters to provide all the sounds of theKashmiri tongue it would have helped to develop a full fledged language and a subject of study as a language, and its own literature.

It is generally held, largely erroneously, that Sharda was thescript for Kashmiri, expressing more or less all the sounds peculiar to it. But the fact of the matter is as pointed out by the late Prof Jaya Lal Kaul in

his masterly works on the language, that Sharda was our script for writing Sanskrit which, in time, came to be overtaken by the Nagri script.

Even then the handicap did not dissolve.

The Perso-Arabic script too was not adapted to Kashmiri so as to express all its sounds. No doubt some old Kashmiri manuscripts written in these scripts are available tracing some indicators employed. However these are more according to the whim of the writer or the copyist rather than a general practice.

The serious handicap of the alphabet and the script held back progress of the language and limited it to essentially a dialect with the resultant variations in statement and pronunciation. One may express the hope, however, that the Central Institute of Indian Languages working on the study and analysis of common features in Indian languages, may ultimately establish universals across them all of which may help evolve the Kashmiri alphabet.

Why I refer to it here is to emphasise that the lack of the alphabet and the script has all along constricted the growth of our mother-tongue. And the apprehension of its continued languishing cannot be ruled out as long as there is no common acceptance of a script, which would necessarily be based on the Nagri or Persion script or a neutral one, say Roman.

One may argue that it is possible to communalise the Alphabet and the script. But it is not feasible to communalise a Language if it is to retain its pristine beauty. At the same time, we have examples of words a Pandit may refrain from using when a Muslim will use them. For example "Nab" (sky) or "Ab" (water) are sanskrit based but by some amazing chance are used by Muslims when Pandits would prefer "Poone" for water and "asman" for sky not drawn from Sanskrit; similarly, in accents say "paintch" and "paantch" for "five" and "dah" and "daah" for "ten".

When we talk of the Kashmiri language one gets the impression that we assume it is all our and we alone (KPs) can salvage it from dying out. That, of course, is wishful thinking to put it politely. The fellow-Kashmiri-speaking, it, i.e. the Muslims in the Valley, outnumber us by 1 to 2 or more, and they have stuck to it in interpersonal conversation both in the rural and the urban sectors. Indeed, much of the Poetry philosophical and romantic has originated from them over the past as well as the present matching, and sometimes excelling, contributions from the Pandits.

An obvious conclusion of what I have said here is that being a well educated community and working for all-round progress to keep in step with the fast-developing world, we have to keep space for our progeny to achieve their aspirations. And that is possible only when they grow in a cosmopolitan ambience and attributes. The first requiste of it is to achieve command over a commanding language. Here I have stated only what is well known and understood and indeed, generally practised. Never the less it is not intended to imply that our mother tongue loses any of its meaning and value. Its primary value is of being a prominent symbol of identity and culture and that has to be respected and enriched by whatever means we can muster. I imagine that this can be attempted and in time accomplished by gentler and pleasurable methods more than by attempting to foist it on the little ones or even the grown ups.

In my view these would comprise bilingual Hindi/English into Kashmiri publications on the pattern of the immensly popular comics suited to our culture on the one hand, and providing a Kaleidoscope of he world today and tomorrow, an illustrated primer of the accepted alphabet and script along with a widely intelligible script such as Roman; and again simple language translations of Panchtantra and that type of stories, parables, anecdotes, all of captivating quality which the reader at his/her age would love to take up and be loath to put down. Then also, the parents may unobtrusively speak in the mother-tongue at home, which would gradually make its way to the ears and imagination of the young ones.

There is a lot to do, demanding investment of finance and much more of imagination, patience and determination and hope.

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44 Kashmiri Pandits and Kashmiri Language

Manmohan Dhar

English are very fond of under-statement. Describing Kashmir in a tourist magazine, an Englishman stated as follows : If you have seen Switzerland, Black forests of Germany, Tyrol in Austria, Lake Districts of Scotland and if you can think of all these places at one and the same time; you will get some idea of what Kashmir is like. A greater tribute to Kashmir, I believe, has not been paid.

Kashmiri language is the product of unparalleled beauty of Kashmir, its flowers, fauna, lakes, rivers, mountains, birds, beasts, men, women and weather, all vying with each other, in the words of Swami Vivekananda, for excellence. He, further, states that there is no country like this anywhere in the World.

Kashmiri language as it is today is an amalgam of Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi, Urdu, English and ancient dialects having their origin in antiquity. Without going into the details of its origin, one can safely say that like the people of Kashmir, Kashmiri language has also been stifled by persecution. None-the-less this language became the vehicle of the greatest minds, poets, savants and saints of Kashmir. Names are legion. It has features singularly its own. In Kashmiri love poetry, it is always the woman that addresses her lover. Laleshwari, Nunda Rishi, Parmanand, Rupa Bhavni, Haba Khatoon, Arnimal, Wahab Khar, Mahmood Gami, Samad Mir, MasterJi, Krishna Razdan, Mahjoor, Shamas Faqir, Nadim and many others, too numerous to recount here, have covered a wide range, covering spiritual realization, philosophy, pangs of love, political aspirations, social inequity, beauty of Kashmir and many other aspects of every day life. Flowers, birds, brooks, mountains, snow, waterways have been accomplices in their total quest for a full life. The bracing climate of Kashmir and the overwhelming surfeit of beauty of nature and the people around expressed itself in their temperament and their language.

44.1 What We Must Do

Our Diaspora, like that of Jews, has been centuries old. Three million Jews were killed by Hitler. Diaspora as a word refers to the dispersion of Jews after their Babylonian exile in 538 B.C. and their settling in scattered colonies out side Palestine, from where they were again thrown out. Since then they wanted a Homeland. In their quest for a homeland, they have now got a piece of desert land which they are defending with their life and blood. As against that we were given marching orders and we took it lying down and in the bargain we got monthly allowance of a pittance for which we have bartered our Most Beautiful Home-Land in the World.

Our Diaspora has also been centuries old, during repeated thrusts of history and persecution. But we are great survivors. From eleven houses we grew to respectable numbers. We owe our existence to those eleven houses only and not to any other glorified persons. But over the centuries, preoccupied with our struggle to survive, we have lost our co-ordinates of identity. In Kashmir we reconciled to live as second rate citizens. *Bata*, *Batagi*, *Batil*, *Dali-Bata*, or *Dali-Gadva* were derogatory terms summing up the assessment of the majority community of our ability to stand up and defend our-selves. We lost our verve and nerve. They should know we can fight back. And fight we must.

To salvage our self-respect, bolster up our ego and to display our superior intellect, we preferred to display our proficiency in speaking and writing English and Kashmiri, our own mother tongue, became a casualty in our pursuit of undignified survival.

We must find our strong-hold. We should speak from a position of strength. If we can succeed outside Kashmir why can not we succeed in Kashmir. Even Kashmiri Muslims should feel proud of us. We have a lot to give to Kashmir and we should work jointly with like-minded Kashmiris for economic, technological and cultural development of Kashmir. This will give a broader base to our sense of belonging to Kashmir and Kashmiriyat. Times are changing fast and next ten years, for more reasons than one, will justify my suggestions. Fanaticism, conversion by force or compulsion, or coercion will not be tolerated in this modern age.

We must speak Kashmiri at home. This is the greatest gift we can give to our youngsters. Give prizes to best Kashmiri speakers in the following age groups : over 50, 25 to 50, 10 to 25 and 5 to 10. Similar

prizes can be given to Kashmiris singing and playing *santoor*, *saz*, *sarang*, *nout* and *tumbaknaer*. Kashmir folk singing is robust, virile and rich. It may be quite rewarding to arrange a Kashmiri folk singing festival in which, Hindu and Muslim groups can participate. Each regional Kashmiri Sabha could have folk singing clubs and there could be all India competition in Kashmir's folk singing with prizes for the best.

Kashmiri speakers, Hindus and Muslims from Kashmir and outside, should be called to speak in Kashmiri on the composite culture of Kashmir. Vitasta should have a Kashmiri section. Script could be Roman, Hindi or even Urdu. Youngsters may prefer Roman script, which they may prefer to Hindi, more so in foreign lands. Language, like a mountain stream, must maintain its freshness by a perennial of flow of creative writing and we must love it and be proud of it. It must become the main stay of our identity as one of the most cultured communities in the world.

Whereas, it is easier said than done, it would be very wrong to overlook the difficulties, howsoever laudable the objectives may be. Kashmiri language has the most complicated vowel system. *Gur*- a horse, *goer*-horses, *geur*- a mare, *voen*- water, *vaen*- grocers, *voun*- knowledge, *vyen*- now, *czhe*- you and many other words are difficult to write and even more difficult to read.

Similarly, in our fast moving technological world and in the rapidly changing life-styles we have to clearly lay down the role spoken and written Kashmiri language is going to or can play. Within those boundary conditions it is possible to make our language a distinctive feature of our ethnic and cultural personality.

The last two aspects are perhaps relevant with regard to our future generations outside Kashmir and outside India. But we have to make a well co-ordinated effort. There is no other alternative.ordinated effort. There is no other alternative.

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45 Kashmiri Language and Our Cultural Health

P. L. Zutshi

Outside the field of ordinary communication, that of a child with its mother, a language in the due course of development takes on the obligation of becoming the custodian of a peoples' thought and aesthetic content. However, with progress, it picks up complex metaphor and multiple meanings of words. Four types of such meanings to written word are described by Abhinavagupta i.e., *conventional, secondary, intentional* and *suggestive*. At this stage of added complexity the development of a language will ordinarily tend to create a cleavage between the commoners and intelligentsia. It also registers then a change in realms or usage; when the language becomes more and more academic it finally looses its ground as a tool of statement for ordinary population. The process cannot be arrested unless the intelligentsia in its conscious effort provides for an antidote. Once isolated, languages loose to qualify for sustained use and purpose. It could be true of Kashmiri language with us now!

45.1 Movement of Kashmiri Language

Experts happen to deliberately and intentionally work on the roots of a language. The importance given to this exercise is to feel its flow and differenciate between its original and imported strains.

The language used by Kashmir's Brahmin population has the distinction of having served this reflective community since beginning at their 'original vihara' at **Sharada**. These people may have stayed there, practising the art of introspection and penance for a long time before the emergence of the phonetics of the 'Sharda' language.

Potential languages, to be more potential, reflect also the quality of inner mind communication. The control and command of a language would be tested in its means to provide for even an intricate statement in order to avoid strident facets, during its progress and growth of a population with strict common faith. 'Shardians' have the distinction of having been the original people to link the relationship between the *Exuberance of Nature* and human being. These people have captured the depths and beauty of Nature in all its intricate depth and fantasy. Large parts of the timeless Rigvedic verse have been attributed to scholars belonging to this population (Rita Dhar, 1989, Kashmir; Media Transasia Ltd., Thailand).

Sharada alphabets, syllables and notations are more in number than its sister language Sanskrit, qualifying it in merit of its potency. As with us today, its direct authorship and time is unknown. This is equally true of other scriptures also like the Vedas, Upanishads and even the Manu Smriti. Sharda tickles imagination in a similar vein, as does the Upanishadic Sanskrit.

Whatever be its time and place of origin, which certainly is very remote from us, we are here concerned with the argument on inheritance and purposefulness of the language. An statement in language, qualitatively rich and exuberant in the fields of prose, poetry, science, art and technology, is what we may ultimately seek from it. In a limited manner the stress is on a mother tongue, where the users are in a position where they happpen to develop the nuance of language and live with it in due satisfaction of absorbtion of nativity. People, who therefore happen to make free use of a common language, develop bondage, effective feelings and affinity.

The retention of gains of nativity and natural affinity leads on to interaction and finally on to better understanding of life, its field of aims and objectives. Loss of nativity can be the worst of the curses ever inflicted by nature on humanity. Nature may sometimes be accused of a wanton use of the rod and punishment. In such a situation, what is normally achieved, learnt and mastered through centuries of togetherness is suddenly lost and or washed off. Such an effected people have to give a show of essentially tough resilience to pull up in their new environment and conditions of living. These are more often not friendly. Many of us may therefore, seek the authority of wisdom on the effectiveness of a native language in a state of scatter, dilution of interest and altered purpose. Even amongst this community itself, *issues* between the non-speaking and those who speak the native tongue emerge with most ugly arguments. Skirmishes across the board have sometimes been used unfortunately though to

lable ourselves as 'Punjabi Kashmiris.' One may have the logic of authority to tolerate such non-recommendatory sentiments. Once raising the issue of prestige, purpose and progress of a native language serves as warning. Affinitywise a common language is a pleasant tag. It is irony, however, that we experience simultaneous love and hate of our language and give room to contentious arguments.

There is an observation, which registers parent's wanton choice to resort to inapplication and non-use of native dialect even in speech of their children. We then stand seriously defeated and accused, despite the quantum and the nature of arguments. Speech and mother tongue have no reason to stay apart, even if parents enjoy children standing as distinguished in social circles with non-native speech. Cost is heavy to be paid subsequently in the loss of 'mother tongue.'

Unimaginatively, however, these parents are grossly unaware and stay accommodated weighing out losses and gains in their favour perhaps unwittingly in disregard of the native language.

45.2 Status of Language

People, who enjoy being referred as wise and intelligent, have a virtual responsibility to locate the seat of the reservoir of wisdom. It requires a deliberate effort to find ways and means to reach this reservoir. It is difficult, if not impossible, in our present day isolation in the dispersed state of living. We need a spurt of unrestrained and hindrance free effort to locate the reservoir. Wisdom may not be taken for granted. It may wane off and turn ***dry***. This intelligence and wisom happens to have sourced from the unrestrained introspectivism of an ancestry, who also happen to have lent meaning to, every human action, human commitments, their endeavours and actions. These things are having a place in totality of cosmos and creation. Intense and essentially a mental activity of our ancestors stayed uninterrupted through few millennia sufficient enough to have done its bit of genetics and fixation that built our long-lasting body frame, constitution and psyche. To keep it preserved, if we love ourselves and get conscious on the subject, makes us distinctly and uncompromisingly responsible. Our language in this respect has a very important role without any disdain. Love of language and love of culture become imperative needs. Language and culture are intertwined in an invisible bond. Any casualness or negligence particularly through the exercise of ego would be damn detrimental to the concept and retention of wisdom that, we often listen to and talk about. Nobody may be and can be a direct witness to genetics in human system, but that a progressive change does take shape in the genetic frame through a persistent and sustained thought process, is a scientific truth. Variely thus, through correct 'vichar' alone, does wisdom become excellent and more excellent. Here, it may be stressed that language of the community and thought process does not stay apart.

Today our language is neither spoken nor written. It is unlikely then to find it being used with some bearing in process of thinking. It has in such case all the traits of getting obscure, lost and dead. Prospect of schooling ourselves in another best of language close to Sharda or Sanskrit, is also remote.

To save ourselves thus, and stay in a state of distinct ethnicity, we may have little option, however, but to keep the nativity and the use of native language alive to the best of our efforts and ability.

At the moment, it appears to be in the shambles, except for the efforts of community from Jammu and Delhi, where it appears in journals as an obligatory appendage. By way of a readership survey, it is observed that journals are catered to the English knowing readership mainly. These classes of readership, including this writer, fall in two categories. Those who associate themselves with false show of dignity and those who are helpless having had no schooling or exposure to written material in the language. The author classifies himself with the latter. It is a tragedy both ways. It would require us to pick up the strains of language from these journals alone, where the young folks mainly the girls, who have command on spoken Kashmiri and stay within the culutral fold have better chance. She is the only hope and redeemer.

The literary status of the language is not very rich at the moment. Beginnning with '*Lal Ded*', then '*Arnimal*', there is a gap landing on then at the feet of *Nund Baba* (*Nund Rishi*), then on to *Parmanand*, Master *Zind Kaul* and among the latest masters, *Nadim, M.L. Saqi, Mohan Rakesh* and few other very intelligent younger and contemporary writers. The literary classics perhaps end with Swami Laxmanji, who happen to have picked up threads from Shiva philosophers of the yore.

That is perhaps not sufficient. The reader to writer ratio in terms of percentage population of Kashmiri Pandits has to increase in measured steps, if not in a great spurt, which may be a big and a selfish demand. The journals, fewer in number do contribute to language development, however, in a smaller way.

Outside the small literary circles, the language down in the Valley happened to have got linking to words in English, Hindi and Urdu sometimes talking grammatically in an awful form. Except in its usage as a domestic working language, the vein fluid of language, which is grammar, was never attempted to be taught formally or informally. In the absence of schooling, language remains and continues so in its rudimentary frame. The impact of import in language and culture has all along been only negative. It has managed to inflict a great dilution even in the thought process. Those who left valley for reasons and stayed apart for a much longer period, these breaks translated the effect mainly in two ways i.e., detachment from root process and a total embarrassing impact on communication. The latter of the effects is being seen through the last half a century in more visible form. The isolation distinguished the community into, *Proficient speakers*, *Adulterated speakers* and *Non speakers*. Each of these sub-classes responds as strangers and sometimes outsiders in the common fold.

The status of language cut off from its literary content has already set in the dangers, isolation and disuse.

To pick up afresh, the threads and turn a new leaf, is going to be an uphill task often illusionary and with lack of general encouragement. Impulsive and compulsive writers with demonstrative skills, who bring out the sweet, useful and compulsive goodness of the language, have to be invited or have to come forward to null the effect.

Those of us who are at pain and feel the pain of loosing mother tongue, may have to devise ways and means, such that the successive generations who stay within the fold of the community find little alibi to blame somebody, somewhere amongst us for having neglected to take care.

45.3 On Identity

A Major General of Kashmiri origin born at Indore now retired since a couple of years answers to a querry; 'O' great'. The querry was as to how about being called a Kashmiri (?). This gentleman recollects no connectivity to Kashmir having also been married to a Parsi lady. He did not confirm if he ever visited Kashmir. Nostalgically, he replies that throughout his life he had always introduced himself as *Kashmiri Pandit*. The story is true with many others whose families migrated from valley few centuries earlier and with no direct connection left within the valley or its people. Identity seems to be important and happens to catch imagination of individuals once they get conscious of their own and the family origin.

As recently as of today it is observed that the Kashmiri population that moved out from the valley have organised themselves everywhere in small social groups. The reason being identity.

Indentity is essential and is needed to keep preserved the gains of history. In our case history may extend to *pre-historic times*. It is the 'Shardian' population, who stands there at the head of our civilization and march within the confines of the valley. The 'Sharada Civilization' has given us the identity. They developed not only a potential language but developed also the science of universe with 'Naad', the primodial sound, which emerges from the Cosmos. Modern science calls it 'Big Bang.' These Brahmins of Sharda kept engraved the Shree Chakra *the triangles of life*. The Shree Chakra explains the meaning and purpose, understanding and knowledge of each and every aspect of life, its cause and content. It explains in explicit terms the Jeevatma and Parmatma.

These people are known to have composed the first verses of Rigveda describing nature in relation with life in all the intricate detail. Nobody may refute the introduction of *Omkar* and *Rudra* as well. Language alone stands a link to this rich experience of our great old seers. It gives us a semblance and pride of personality.

The current euphoria and sympathy within ourselves serves as indicators of identity need. Language alone shall therefore link us to ourselves. An emergent language has the power to keep a society vibrant and responsive. In our present case the sad story is that the current generation never inherited the '*vibrations*' of language that could build the necessary seriousness. Though difficult, it may not be impossible to

manage it at the level of our inheritance along with the dents. The condition being that we have to create a sentimental love for the subject of discussion. It will need a deliberate effort to assemble the talkable good things afresh. In the modern exhibitionist attitude, the need is to locate the sub-modern, serious and composite attitude towards life process. Otherwise we float as individuals randomly wandering with a hangover and on occasion randomly bouncing into each other by one's and two's. One of the good things being that the heights have already been scaled in the realms of human psychological, spiritual and physical needs in their balanced form. We are close to these peaks looking sadly at these with indebtedness.

Kashmiri Brahmin community has been conducting a people bound for scaling the unknown peaks of wisdom. Another good thing though an ordinary one, is their undiluted distinguishing power between wrong and right, between waste and useful and between pure and impure. A language is needed, which will make things communicative and allow the resilience to iron over the fold of mis-knowledge and ignorance, if any. We happen to be closer to the finest catch that humans can aspire. To expound the same there is need to examine existing literature, existing psychology and to link these to existing needs. Caution being that we love, respect and regard ourselves despite being surrounded by the world of right and wrong wealth. The wealth of beauty and wealth of nature have to be synthesized to develop a meaningful track, which has to be straight and without confusion or contradiction. Every generation, not ourselves alone have been in a state of transition. The emergence of life and universe and its reflective submergence, are the well-known terminals. This sight has to be prevented from getting into permanent eclipse. The reminders that are delivered from time to time, while in transit, serve the wise amongst us with a potential feed. And wise we *are* by the grace of knowledge served by the great seers. It is taboo with us to never think of injury to others in the process of locating our own fields of ecstasy in attire, taste, touch and association. Should that concept stay, language of identity and language of affinity, is bound to flourish serving its hosts with lasting love and affection.

It is an emperical knowledge that during the state of transition, down to modern times, individuals and groups in pursuing safety and well being as their first obligation, lost sight of both the ends, significantly. This happened. And may be even seen now in the process of pursuing a transitory joy of life. This has to be registered as a tremendous loss, both in knowledge and personality.

Loss of language constitutes just a part of this great continuum of loss. There is need to succeed to effect a substantial decline in this erosive process. We shall then save the content of language and the loving and yearning ethnicity.

45.4 Utility and Purpose

Language happens to build a thought process. At its nascent stage, it absorbs both the elements the *thinking* and the *thought*. The interative exercise goes on for a period at the end of which an aspirant receives a potent tool of statement. The time required in the process falls in undermined units as that with development of civilizations.

Our language has made a successful journey at the close of which it offered the rich '*Sharada* script'. It is the script, which makes use of a .. of phonetics. Sharada may have lent lot to Sanskrit and also got enriched by it.' The two are complimentary sister languages. The other close language being Prakrit.

Panini, presented the grammar of language first of its kind (c. 1500 BC)[1] when the Saraswat Brahmins had already migrated to the Valley.[2] Sanskrit and local Sharda were managed as single language. This state continued for centuries down the history. When Buddhist culture and Pali language reached the valley it continued to use the power of its script to scribe down the manuscripts with absorbing influence of Sanskrit and Pali. We are told that '*Bhojpatra*' manuscripts were turned out by thousands. Later tonnes of these were burnt and destroyed by the iconoclasts.

Abhinavagupta, Anandwardhan, Mammata and the other contemporary scholars of (5th 6th) century onwards have tuned out Sanskrit masterpieces of aesthetics and theology, *Shaivism*, art and beauty. They also wrote volumes of critical appreciation of masterpieces of literature from other centres in the country.

Kashmiri language registers a strong and obliterating influence of Arabic and Persian brought in by invaders and invading travellers. What stays now is a best admixture including that of the English language.

Sharda almost died, Sanskrit went into disuse and oblivion resulting in fewer or no scholarly works from Kashmir. Shall future have the benefits of the sole stirring original contribution from the *values* reservoired in Kashmiri thought and content. We then need a power packed language!

Kashmiris have made use of languages for economic purpose particularly after the advent of Islam and rule of Afghans. They did reasonably well in Persian, so much so that they turned out literature in this language. At one time, they were rated only next to Persians themselves. Being rulers' language, it got then access to jobs in government. Since around (14^{th} 15^{th}) century onwards the learning of language of ruling class was taken up with ease and will, but little did the native language receive necessary care and content. This kind of mental frame of the community continues unabated. Now also, the situation is same. It follows that language has importance in economic sphere. Where then does our native language get fit in terms of its money value? We face then a serious handicap particularly after having done away with every kind of local *ritual*, except its need in the disposal of the dead. We don't see the use of this Kashmiri language in socio-economic field. Most of us, rather all of us persue in an exclusive manner the field of economic prospects alone and for this use the other essential languages only. That therefore leaves no attraction for use of native dialect. This is no way a heartening situation in the evaluation of Kashmiri language, even in its speech form.

Handicaps and negative aspects in the persuasion of building up the prospects of language have multiplied and compounded for worst after 1989 episode and mass dispersal of population.

45.5 Strength of the Language

The strength of language is measured in terms of *Rasa*. It develops into an emotive feeling, which seeks no motives. Then it is always reasonable to persue it. An existing reservoir of emotion, which is both instinctive and objective, should constitute an ocean of strength where from the community can draw freely, fearlessly and frequently.

Objective good will amongst the body system of the community should constitute a major source of strength. Both these factors, *Rasa* of language and the objective good will for the language appear to be present in abundance and that could be taken as a proof of its illustrious and gallant survival, if treated with care and vision.

It is an experience that 'Lalwakh' is always absorbed with meaning and a gratitude for the poet. An aspirant or the one who has nothing to do with our culture and language can not resist temptation to know once the meanings are explained cogently. That can be seen as the real strength of language and its beauty. Anandwardhan stresses on the propriety to evoke *Rasa* and a "language (that) transcends its prosaic limits and at the same time gathers into itself all the grace of sound and sense ..." If and when our language reaches spontaneity and sheds artificiality, one should stop to worry about its future.

45.6 Future of Kashmiri

The future of Kashmiri language as with all others, lies in the development of scholarship. It has to be wide and varied, uninhibitive and non-artificial, original and speculative. The virtues of language will then require no props.

Our anxiety has to be converted into action, sooner it is the better. The first of these is to prompt scholarship not by incentive but more by arousing emotive feelings. There is a gold mine down in the reach; the scholars have only to feel it. Let us not talk of *fashion* and *puraskar*. Let us talk of love of ourselves voyaging in a single boat towards the glorious horizons of realization and excitement.

There is a need to begin somewhere earnestly with Kashmiri translation of classical works. Identify willing scholars and entrust the project. Their work has to justify the power of language. Meanwhile it is imperative to develop a powerful phonetics better perhaps through Sharada script in the belief that it served as the original script of Kashmiri Brahmins.

There are other scripts also available; one is the usual Devanagiri and the other developed by Wakhloo's [3] in Roman form. At the moment, since Devanagiri is already in use, scholars should examine the details of limitation and requirements.

There is a caution that culture precedes language and statement. No amount of hard labour can be enough in development of language, disregard of cultural passion. Culture has precedence over all other sentiments. Our children, young and old, have to be helped with picking up of speech, with love and without inhibitive feeling. Study of culture, if required, can be made best only through language. Culture being our exposed feelings of life and Universe relationship in all its diversity.

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[1] Kamala Ratna (1990)

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[3] Wakhloo, Bharat 1996

Wakhloo, Omkar

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46 Some Reflections on Kashmiri Pandit Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Global Civilization

Prof. S. Bhatt

Present day world is witnessing some major movements of ideas in the following areas : First, we see an economic revolution based on privatisation and globalisation. Second, we have the communication revolution assisted by satellite, phones, computers, e-mails, internets etc. The third movement relates to the environmental protection and the ecology of the earth based on biological and ecological foundations. The fourth movement concerns global cultural revolution, which is a result of mankind's urge for harmony and the ongoing synthesis of various cultures. Sometimes, we feel that all the above movements of ideas are interconnected and interdependent.

The intellectual revolution on the cultural and intellectual front is also due to the globalisation of knowledge and the synthesis of scientific and social disciplines. Even the spiritual content of mankind's thinking is yielding towards a new cosmic revolution based on modern science philosophy and spiritualism.

Kashmiri Pandit Culture has a long and hisorical base in Kashmir and in the rest of India. The time is come to convey this heritage to the world at large. Kalhana Pandit in the 12th century, Lalleshwari in the 14th century, and many kings and poets of Kashmir such as Lalitadatya, Zain-ul-Abdin, poet Ghulam Mohammad Mehjoor, Dina Nath Nadim, Master Zinda Kaul, Prof. Jayalal Kaul, Prof. Rahman Rahi and Jawaharlal Nohru in the 20th Century provide a glimpse of the Kashmiri heritage in general. Kashmiri Pandits have an outstanding record of service to the mankind for harmony and enlightenment.

Lal Ded's Vaaks, for example, provide the basis of K.P. cultural foundation. These Vaaks or sayings form the basis of modern evolution of a common spirituality of mankind, harmony with nature such as is reflected in the UN Charter on Nature made in 1982. The UNESCO for example has held a global Seminar in 1950s on "Science and Synthesis" at the 10th death anniversary of Einstein and biologists Chardin. This UNESCO Seminar reflects ideas similar to Lal Ded's Vaaks.

This Seminar today offers an opportunity to all of us to highlight K.P. Culture and promote the evolution of a unified global culture for this civilization based on the unity in diversity of global life. Diversity is as important for the lifestyle of this Civilisation as the unity is. Both are interdependent concepts. In regard to unity, Rabinder Nath Tagore says : "This principle of unity is the mystery of all mysteries". Secondly in KECSS. there is a proposal being processed for a "Centre for Kashmir Studies". This proposed Centre in KECSS should be able to develop links with Harvard University etc. to strengthen the intellectual collaboration in fields like Shaivism and all that the KP Culture stands for. Shri M.K. Kaw is guiding this effort in KECSS as he is also currently the Education Secretary to the Government of India. A few years ago, a scholar namely Anita Wokhlu from Harvard University, U.S.A. was deputed to study the KP Cultural Heritage in India. Besides, other scholars like Prof. Paul Muller from California University is researching on our literature and philosophy.

Therefore, this Seminar should be able to draw attention to these global developments in regard to our cultural heritage. A Science Seminar is being held by KECSS on 8th July 2001 which will be attended among others by 20 Fellows of the National Academy of Sciences in India who are KPs and other Scientists and Scholars. We look forward to further contributions on Science and Spiritualism and on Global Science in general during that Seminar. The KP cultural heritage is after all a scientific heritage of this civilization. If we can promote global harmony through our philosophy of culture and science, we shall fulfill a void in contemporary civilization. This Seminar has therefore met at a very important juncture in our history and in the history of Kashmir.

[This is the summary of the paper read by Prof. S. Bhatt at the seminar origanized by Northern Regional Language Centre & KECSS, Delhi at Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi on 7-8 Jan. 2001. The author is Vice President KECSS and Hon. Prof. Hamdard University and JNU, New Delhi.]

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47 The Kashmiri Language Class at Kashmir Bhavan, Kolkata

Sunita Mulla and Jolly Mohan Kaul

The start of the Kashmiri Language class at the Kashmir Bhavan in Kolkata marks an important milestone in the history of the Kashmiri Pandit community in this city. Indeed we would go further and say it is a significant event in the cultural history of Kolkata. The city has rightly been referred to as the cultural capital of the country. It has been the centre for the development of the Bengali language and literature. It is here that English education first started; it is here that there is a rich tradition of Hindi as well as Urdu culture. It is therefore in the fitness of things that there is now also a centre for the teaching of Kashmiri language in Kolkata.

Kashmiri Pandits have been in Calcutta for quite a long time. Both our families have had links with this city for over half a century. Like many other families of the Kashmiri diaspora our families too migrated from Kashmir a long time ago. We produced many scholars in different languages, in Urdu, Persian, in Hindi and in English but unfortunately we forgot our own Kashmiri language. In the process we have become rootless citizens of the country and got isolated from our own community, our language and to a large extent from our own culture. Whenever we have been meeting Kashmiri speaking Kashmiri families we feel embarassed and somewhat ashamed that we cannot converse with our own kith and kin in what is called the mother tongue of our community. This feeling has always been there but we felt even more concerned after the recent events that have forced our brethren to become refugees in their own country. Since the medium of instruction in Kashmir is mostly Urdu, there is a real danger that the Kashmiri language might in course of time become extinct. The original script of the language, the Sharda script has already become extinct. There is so much concern all over the world for some of the endangered species of wild animals but sadly one does not see the same concern for the endangered Kashmiri Pandit language and culture.

So we felt that we should make our own contribution to the survival of the language and what better way to do this than to try to learn the language. Young or old we think that all of us in different parts of the country should try to go back to our roots and learn the language of our ancestors, a language that has a rich tradition and a rich literature. It was in this background that both of us, one more than seventy years old and the other in her thirties decided that we should learn the language. The opportunity came when Dr. B. K. Moza took the initiative to start the Kashmiri language class in Kashmir Bhavan in Salt Lake city, north east of Kolkata, about two years back.

We started with nearly thirty men and women of different age groups. The classes are held once a week on Saturday afternoon. Along with Dr. Moza, Mrs Niva Kaul has also been helping when Dr. Moza has had to go out of the city. Some of the original thirty have dropped out but others are carrying on with interest and dedication. One cannot blame them, they have their priorities, their offices or their business to manage, their studies and exams, their families and children to look after. Learning a language is not easy and needs a lot of patience and hard work besides the aptitude. Under the circumstances anyone else might have felt discouraged but Dr. Moza is such a dedicated person that difficulties only spur him on. He is continuing undaunted and so is the small band of students that are regularly attending his classes.

When we started we had no books. Our teacher's strategy was to get us accustomed to the peculiar sounds and accents of the Kashmiri language which are not to be found in the English or Hindi languages. By constant repetition of the words that are in common use and of phrases and sentences relating to situations which we are likely to encounter routinely, he helped us to mould our tongue and train our ears so that it may be able to reproduce the sounds as close to the correct as possible. The first twenty five classes were devoted to conversations only using audio-visual technique. Gradually we began to tape the lectures and three casettes are already full. It was suggested that we use the English Reader that is used in schools to teach English at the primary stage and so we began to take up one by one the lessons in the book and translated them into the Kashmiri language. Using the pictures in the Reader Dr Moza asked us to describe what was in the pictures in Kashmiri. We made considerable progress this way. Then one of the students discovered an old book written a long time ago for the express purpose of teaching the anguage.

Both vocabulary and sentences in English and Hindi are given along with their Kashmiri version both in the Devnagri and the Roman script. This has been a great help and we have finished more than half of this book. However Dr. Moza tells us that this is rather outdated and now the script has been standardised and the symbols for the sounds that are not to be found in Hindi have been developed. Soon we will practice writing Kashmiri in this streamlined and computer friendly Devnagri script.

We have also been encouraged by the information given to us by Dr. Moza that considerable research on the subject is going on both in India and abroad. In the United States, Kashmiri scholars have even developed web sites which can be accessed by all interested in the latest developments in this field. In India too the Institute of Linguistics at Patiala has already produced books and casettes on the teaching of the Kashmiri language for those whose mother tongue is not Kashmiri.

In this connection it may be mentioned that our Mumbai Sabha has brought out a primer for learning the Kashmiri language and this has been recently made available to all of us. Soon we shall go through this course also. We have also already gone through the Roman Primer developed by Bharat Wakhlo. However, there are a number of problems that we are currently facing. Kashmir Bhavan in Salt Lake is rather far away from where many of us live. But we are convinced that Kashmir Bhawan is our dear Institution of Kashmiri Culture in Kolkata. So, this is the right place for holding Kashmiri language classes. There has so far been a shortage of books though there is, we are told, now a possibility that course materials and casettes may be available from the Institute of Languages. Apart from that the main problem is that there is no scope for practising. After all the only way to speak is to practise conversing with people who can speak the language. Unfortunately opportunities to do this are not easily available though we have, almost every month a get-together at Kashmir Bhawan but for these there is a specific agenda. Still, we would request Kashmiri speaking people living in different localities to come forward and spare some time to talk to us for even half an hour once a week or even once a fortnight.

A great asset that we have is the Library that has been built up in the Kashmir Bhavan in Calcutta. It is unique in the sense that it has a very comprehensive collection of rare books on the Kashmiri language and literature and on the history and culture of Kashmiri Pandits. The collection includes rare books such as Grierson's grammar prepared long ago. This was the first Kashmiri grammar in English published. Then there are a number of editions of the Rajatarangini, Nilamat Purana, Katha Sarit Sagar, Kashmiri Ramayana, Kashmiri Shaivism, Lal Ded etc., prepared by various Indian and foreign scholars. We have also the latest books and casettes prepared in the United States; such as the books by the well known scholar, Prof. B. B. Kachru. There are more than three hundred books on Kashmiri Pandit history, culture, language, religion and present political turnoil Besides, there are books on tourism in Kashmir. Despite the obstacles we are trying our best to carry on untill we derive some proficiency in speaking the language. With an able and dedicated teacher like Dr. B. K. Moza there is no reason why we should not succeed. We would however like to add that an indication of the progress that we have already made is the welcome address delivered by one of the students, Mrs. Prabha Tankha at the Navreh function held recently. No one felt that a learner was speaking. The whole gathering was proud of this achievement.

We appeal to non-Kashmiri speaking Kashmiris and children to come forward in larger numbers to take advantage of this opportunity to learn the language and we would also like to appeal to Kashmiri speaking Kashmiris to volunteer their help to the learners. We are confident that the movement will spread and that more and more persons young and not so young will come forward in the near future. This is the need of the hour and we must not be found wanting. No wonder, our this experience may prove a role model globally for other Sabhas and Samitis of Kashmiri Pandit diaspora.

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48 Towards Preserving Our Mother Tongue A.I.K.S., A Potential Thrust

Dr. B. K. Moza

48.1 Introduction

Consequent to the fundamentalist terrorism in Kashmir, there has been a compelling exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from their ancient homeland. Presently this suffering community is in exile; most of them being in dilapidated dwellings in camps as internally displaced refugees in their own country or as migrants in scattered locations over here or abroad. Besides having lost their hearths and homes, preservation of their cultural heritage and their identity is, obviously, at stake. Being an infinitesimally small minority every where, their identity is threatened. The prospects of their rehabilitation in their own homeland are not in view in near future. However, it is a great tragedy if this community loses its glorious cultural heritage and tradition also. To preserve their cultural identity particularly its most important aspect, the mother tongue, is an uphill task unless there is a strong will and joint effort to do so. It is not possible individually or for any single community Association to uphold various aspects of our culture. For this a joint effort of all the organizations of Kashmiri Pandits, located at various places globally, is necessary. To coordinate these individual units, it was deemed very necessary to have a Federation of all the community organizations scattered globally to cater to their common agenda of preserving their roots and cultural heritage. With this in view, *All India Kashmiri Samaj (A.I.K.S)* was established as a central federation of all the scattered units affiliated to it for certain common objectives. In an earlier article, entitled "AIKS : A Potential Movement of Kashmiri Pandit Diaspora "published in the 34th Annual of Vitasta, 2000, (pages 93-96), the role of AIKS was detailed. With a view to rejuvenating this Organization and the Movement it is deemed to spearhead, another article, "AIKS A Potential Movement Still To Gain Momentum" was written by me which has appeared in Kshir Bhawani Times, Jammu, the Koshur Gazette, New Delhi, Milchar, Bombay and soon it is to appear in some more community publications. There are no alternatives to this Organization of federal recognition for providing much needed thrust to our common objectives. In this article it has been mentioned that AIKS should address to only limited agenda of common interest to the total community, spread globally. One of such common agenda is preserving our mother tongue for which a great effort is required by all of us jointly. It requires an adequate infrastructure of resources, human and financial, an innovative planning and time bound action-plan for implementation and follow up . This is possible if we have an appropriately strong federal organization, having the in-built objective of carrying along, its affiliates and providing them the much-needed leadership, direction and wherewithal. Preserving our mother tongue in global Diaspora is an urgent agenda. With this in view the above mentioned article is reproduced below to emphasize on the revitalisation of AIKS and thereby the thrust AIKS can provide, as the Apex Body, towards the preservation of our mother tongue:

48.2 Original Background

All India Kashmiri Samaj (AIKS) was founded two decades back in 1980. The prpose was to have an Apex Body to coordinate the activities of Kashmiri Pandit organizations set up locally in various parts of the country and abroad. The emphasis of these units, at that time, was more on preserving Kashmiri Pandit identity locally amongst the community members who had migrated from Kashmir for earning their bread & butter or for finding better opportunities etc. Therefore the objectives of these units at that time were essentially, social, cultural and economic. The Apex Body, AIKS, was established to coordinate the activities of these local units for their common agenda keeping their commonalties in view. It was assumed that the local units would have a greater accent on the local issues and day to day problems faced by them locally. However, there was at the same time an upsurge, as intense as a responsibility, deeply invoked in them. It was about maintaining rapport with the roots in Kashmir and within the Diaspora for the purpose of bringing about cohesion amongst the community members for identifying and solving the common issues to the best interests of the community. The ultimate objective, however, being to preserve the health and identity of the community.

In the year 1989-90 there was an unexpected upheaval in Kashmir caused by the fundamentalist terrorism over there. This community being an infinitesimally small minority, it became the soft target for murder, arson, loot and all that is associated with the distressing terrorism, having its roots in the well planned strategy of proxy war, unleashed by our Islamic neighbour. This forced them to leave their hearths and homes in their homeland as a minority community and take refuge elsewhere for the security of their lives, safety of their honour particularly of their women-folk and for their livelihood. Though presumed to be a temporary displacement, it has continued with the full fury of distress for last eleven years with increasing setbacks. This internal displacement of this community, because of the fundamentalist terrorism in their homeland, added another dimension of responsibility to these local units of Kashmiri Pandit Diaspora. It was relief and refuge to the distressed community members, their rehabilitation, establishing their minority status, enabling their return to homeland and preserving the identity under distressingly adverse conditions. This community being infinitesimally small in numbers, it did not represent any vote bank and as such bringing political awareness and awakening to their distress, amongst those who mattered, shaped as a vital pre-requisite for the existence of this community. In 1991 therefore, for AIKS, the political agenda also shaped as the most priority one to ensure rights of safety, survival, and existence of the uprooted members of this community and for enabling, at an appropriate date, their honourable return to the homeland. Accordingly, AIKS assumed the expected role in 1991 to coordinate, as the Apex Body, its thirty-eight affilated units for the social, economic and also political objectives that confronted the community at that time. It was evident that this distress shock would bring awareness in the community towards its shortcomings and bring about leadership amongst them. AIKS was strengthened as the Apex Body with the hope that it would fill the leadership vacuum that has been maligning this community historically. AIKS duly assumed the responsibility in right spirit and called for this purpose the historical Jaipur Convention in 1991. It organized definite efforts at mobilizing the resources, both material and man power, brought about awakening and awareness to the magnitude of the Kashmiri Pandit distress and created a need for a united effort amongst the community members and their political and social organizations towards the emergent issues, particularly the relief and rehabilitation of the uprooted brethren, displaced internally. The problem before AIKS was definitely too big for it to solve; but it did make a resolute effort to attempt finding means and ways to solve it. In true sense it shaped as a remarkable movement of the century so far as Kashmiri Pandit Diaspora is concerned.

48.3 Present Scenario

This upsurge is continuing, AIKS is doing as per its claims a reasonably creditable job, the thirty eight units are not only thriving but these have multiplied to a still bigger number; many community news papers, journals and news letters are getting circulated with ever increasing passion for numbers. Each one is giving a feeling of being the last word in excellence and each organization is highlighting its special contribution to Kashmiri Pandit cause. There is undoubtedly an improved awareness to Kashmiri Pandit distress, there are seminars and symposia held at various places and at various platforms, focussing the role an individual organization is playing for the Kashmiri Pandit welfare. But the Kashmiri Pandit problem is static, if not worse, so far as rehabilitation, preservation of community identity and homeland issues are concerned. AIKS is also contented with the role it is playing. Its official organ, Naad, cried hoarse with gasping breathlessness for financial panacea, which apparently did not become available and as a result it has closed down; may be temporarily or, God forbidding, permanently. As reported in Koshur Samachar (June, 2000 pg. 3) AIKS had its main function of having elections in its poorly attended AGM, held on 13th and 14th May this year. But it did not make any significant contribution to the cause to which it is dedicated nor did it add any new dimension to the issues that have been plaguing the community for quite sometime. Sunder Vani, Chandigarh (Vol. V, No II, June 2000) and Milchar, Bombay (April 2000) have detailed these viewpoints vividly. The Sunder Vani has explained the dismay and disillusion about the problems facing us. It is true, as explained therein, that these problems cannot be solved individually by Samitis and Sabhas; for this, a strong centre and a strong working group is needed and in this context the role of the apex organization AIKS comes into play and this requires, undoubtedly, to be strengthened. The Chandigarh publication further explains the widely felt anguish as "We have no

consistency. We come to meet, we discuss and we resolve. In our resolutions we are active and sometimes over-active but unfortunately at the end of the day we return to being inactive. In 1998 AGM held at Chandigarh, a Zonal Conference was formed by AIKS, which never took off, etc." The Vitasta, Kolkata (Vol. XXXIII, 2000, Pgs., 93-97) has made an objective analysis, which was intended to be presented and discussed in this annual meeting of AIKS. This, however, was not discussed because reportedly Naad could not publish it for circulation to enable its discussion in this meeting. The Kheer Bhawani Times, Jammu, the Kashmir Sentinel and the Koshur Gazette duly highlighted the proceedings of this Annual meeting. The Vitasta (June 2000) whilst reporting on this meeting of AIKS recorded its great concern on the breathlessness of Naad. Surprisingly AIKS meets only once in a year to discuss such matters; there are no monthly Executive Meetings either unless there is an emergency. So all constructive agenda is remaining for future consummation; there is generally limited follow up of what has been committed nor any meaningful review. There are meagre directions, action plans and such impacts as are required of an apex organization with global affiliations.

48.4 Wide-spread Concern

These are the facts which are presented with great concern, anxiety and involvement and these reveal, to call a spade a spade, that AIKS is not performing the expected and intended role as the Apex Body and there is no other organization endowed to perform this role. This organization has fatigued out as a player in the field, leave aside captaining the community organizations, as originally proposed and accordingly built in its constitution. Our problems are aggravating and these require a united, adequate and representative action by the Kashmiri Pandit organizations, scattered globally. And for this, very justifiably, all look to Apex Body for global mobilization. The ceremonial hoop-la and ornamental positioning are momentarily pleasant and indeed a great consolation. Yet, an Apex Body will be assessed only for its result-oriented performance at a different level of objectives for which it has been formed. Accordingly its performance may be remarkable as one amongst many others but that will not be creditable since it will be valued only for its contributions as an Apex Body.

The question arises can we afford this sad state of affairs? True, there are some affiliated or may be dissociated and unaffiliated units of AIKS which are playing a very significant role. That is a silver lining to this, otherwise, dark cloud; and an encouraging feature indeed. But none of these is having the objective of co-ordinating all the Kashmiri Pandit organizations for our commonly faced problems and issues. AIKS is the only organization, which has that built in objective, mandate and inherent potential to play this role. No thoughtful analysis will object to the growth of so many organizations, some playing the expert role for some cause pertaining to the community health and welfare. Though excellence is the essential ingredient, there is no serious objection to having, as reported (MIlchar, Bombay, July, 2000) mushroom growth of official organs and publications belonging to the community organizations and individuals. The fact is some of these are playing a definite special role or some of these by themselves may be the role models. But what is of utmost concern in the present context is that there is none, which is playing the role of a coordinator for achieving a united effort for highlighting the common agenda and an organized action programme of the community. The conclusion again emerges that there is one and only one organization, AIKS, and one and only one official publication, the Naad, which can play the coordinating role and a coordinating link to bring about community leadership and response for solving the problems and issues that our community at large, is presently facing.

48.5 Conclusive Measures

Kashmiri Pandits have a history of deep-rooted pathology of individualism and a record of prolonged sufferings as a consequence. Thee is, however, an awakening and some change in attitudes visible in this connection. But what has been achieved is not sufficient for the purpose. Much more is required at leadership level and there is no alternative to achieving this if we desire to survive as a community with glorious heritage, rehabilitate our uprooted and devastated brethren, achieve a homeland for ourselves and preserve our cultural identity particularly the mother tongue globally. So, without elaborating any further our problems and seeking any solution to these, what I am highlighting herein is the need for an

appropriate Apex Body. What is required is a strong organization, having a clear objective of safeguarding the interests of Kashmiri Pandits. Very sadly, the present objectives of AIKS do not at all reveal clearly a Kashmiri Pandit connection. These, therefore, require to be modified, redefined, freshly constituted and prioritized to meet our present requirements. The Apex Body has to be very strong and representative as far as possible, dedicatedly addressing to only few agenda, which are of critical importance to the community in totality. It may not neessarily attend to all the details itself; its frontal affiliated units have to be entrusted with and fully invovled to perform on the concerned agenda of our Apex Body at the frontal focal points, wherever these may be, but under the coordination of AIKS. In this context the AIKS will be the motivator and monitor to assess the progress made, mobilize the resources of ideas, global, financial and otherwise support, and keep all the units together for the few agenda which are essential and indispensable for the existence and identity of our community. It is equally important, as its function, to keep the intra and inter channels of information and communication alive amongst the community organizations scattered globally. It has to play the role of a Coordinator whose involvement will be seen as indispensable in all these respects. Its role has to be that of a director who may not be visible on the stage but whose determining performance and the quintessential overall impact will be felt throughout the play. This is not an easy task but this is what is expected of an Apex Body. And to deserve this privileged position it has to work out its own methodology, wherewithal and all that is required to bring about an appropriate impact. We all have to come together and brainstorm as to how we can achieve this objective. It is more a management subject of Organizational Leadership and once there is a strong organization with strong leadership one can hope all the problems will get systematically attended to, ironed out and therefore solved. We have very serious problems and issues before us and the first step to solving these is to rejuvenate and strengthen the Organization that is necessary for this. I repeat it has to be dedicated, well-structured, youthful, globally representing and coordinating, having Kashmiri Pandit as the soul object of all objectives. AIKS is constituted for this role very thoughtfully and, therefore, all Kashmiri Pandit organizations have to come together and make AIKS a dream come true; a functional, meaningful and well performing Apex Body of Kashmiri Pandit organizations. It is a great movement of the century but this has yet to take off. Our well being lies in creating conditions that will enable its thrust as the very productive Apex Body of Kashmiri Pandit organizations."

Conclusively, the views expressed in the above article highlight the role AIKS is expected to play as an Apex Body. Preservation of our mother tongue is a typical agenda waiting for such co-ordination. Citing an example, about two years back, Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta took an initiative for organizing a brain storm for stream-lining the Devnagri script for Kashmiri language. AIKS admired this initiative and at the same time requested for this being the agenda of the Apex Body. Accordingly, this was left agreeably and more appropriately, to our Apex Body to organize a result oriented action plan and follow up. It is very distressing to note that till now there has been no further feed back from our Apex Body who wished to have this as a central agenda. As per available information, till now no purposeful action has at all been taken by our Apex Body. However, the concerned experts, independent of AIKS, have worked hard on this agenda and commendably streamlined and simplified the Devnagri script for our mother tongue and also made it computer friendly for typing purposes. Though great, this is not all, so far as achieving the ultimate objective is concerned. A classical example of what is missing is that, in the meantime, Bombay Kashmiri Pandit Association on their own initiative and in the absence of any further communication, developed a Kashmiri Primer in Devnagri script, at a great cost of effort and expense, using the old and presently superseded recommendations. This is a great loss that could have easily been avoided with timely communication. Leaving aside what has happened, what is more important now is that our Apex Body co-ordinates the implementation of this streamlined script for use by all the journals of our community Associations, having Kashmiri sections and for uniform implementation by our writers, teachers and learners through its affiliated units. Duplication of efforts, requiring very costly resources, can be thus avoided if we have a meaningful Apex Body to co-ordinate centrally the action plans for global implementation. This will require organizing, through the experts, necessary instruction manuals, an updated Kashmiri Primer, simpler teaching aids etc for uniform application. A separate financial

resource can be created for this purpose. Every thing is available but what is missing is a strong organization and leardership to utilize the available resources meaningfully. AIKS has to gain momentum and take off appropriately as a strong federal organization of Kashmiri Pandits to co-ordinate and provide requisite thrust to such urgent and identified issues as are required for the survival of our community and its cultural aspects. Preservation of our tongue is very important in this context.

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